A HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF INSCRIPTIONAL TELUGU

(1401 A.D. to 1900 A.D.)

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FOREWORD

The Department of Linguistics at Osmania University which was founded in 1962 was admitted by the University Grants Commission to its programme of Departments for Special Assistance in 1977. The Programme of Special Assistance continued till March 31, 1985. After considering the performance and potentiality of the Department and the needs at the national level the University Grants Commission decided to continue Special Assistance for a further period of five years with effect from April 1, 1985 and later in December upgraded the Department as a Centre of Advance Study in Linguistics.

With the support of UGC funding the Centre has undertaken publication programme besides strengthening teaching and research activities. As part of this programme, we have a series of publications embodying selected papers presented at the national and International seminars organised annually by the Department since 1978. Another series is the publication of selected Ph. D. theses of high quality completed by the research scholars of the Department. The present work by Dr. K. K. Ranganadhacharyulu which was awarded the degree in 1978 is the first in this series. Since 1975, the Department has also been issuing a periodical, Osmania Papers in Linguistics, annually, embodying research articles by the teachers and students of the Department.

The late Professor Thomas Burrow of Oxford University stated that the present work was an excellent and exemplary piece of work and that it is a valuable contribution to the history of the Telugu language. We are happy to bring out this work in our Centre's publications series and hope that it would be found useful by a wider circle of scholars, both linguists and specialists in Telugu language.

H. S. ANANTHANARAYANA
Coordinator
CAS in Linguistics

PREFACE

The present work '*A Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Telugu*' is the result of my research conducted in the Department of Linguistics, Osmania University under the supervision of Professor Bh. Krishnamurti during the years 1974-78. This dissertation was presented to Osmania University for the award of Ph.D in 1978 and was awarded the degree in October 1978. Several scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma, K. Ramakrishniah. C. Narayana Rao, G.J. Somayaji have made attempts at a historical study of the early Telugu inscriptions. This work in a way, a continuation of the studies made by K. Mahadeva Sasthry, B. Radhakrishna and M. Kandappa-chetty, who researched into the historical aspects of old Telugu and Early Middle Telugu with the help of newly developed methods. The present study deals with the evolution of the Telugu language from 1401 A.D. to 1900 A.D. based on the published inscriptions. Special attempt has been made in this work to interpret inscriptional orthography thoroughly, which is often influenced by the actual pronunciation of Telugu spoken at that time. The developments in Phonology, Marphology and syntax as traceable in inscriptional Telugu are also described thoroughly. Since it is the last stage in the evolution of Telugu, I could make use of the findings of the scholars who studied the earlier periods for the purpose of presenting the conclusions.

I must express my special gratitude to Sri Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao, Chairman, Andhra Saraswatha Parishath Oriental College, Hyderabad for permitting me to work for my Ph. D. and for his parental solicitude and encouragement. I am very grateful to Professor Bh. Krishnamurti, without whose valuable guidance this study is difficult. Like a true '*guru*' he was very generous with his time. He had gone through several drafts of the dissertation with special care and interest and corrected a number of flaws in usage and style. I am thankful to Professor C. Rama Rao for introducing me to Linguistics and for helping me always. My thanks to Professor B.V.L. Narayana Rao of Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad for helping me improve the quality of the presentation. My thanks are due to professor G.N. Reddy, Department of Telugu, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupathi and Dr. B. Radhakrishna, Deputy Director, Telugu Akademi, Hyderabad for giving me access to material that is otherwise inaccessible. I am also thankful to Dr. G.S. Gai, former Chief Epigraphist, Government of India, Mysore and Dr. P. Parabrahma Sastry, former Deputy Director, Archaeological Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh for permitting me to use their libraries. I am very appreciative of the help I received from Dr. A. Subba Rao, Department

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Finally, my grateful acknowledgements are due to the Department of Linguistics, Osmania University for selecting this work for the publication. I am particularly thankful to Professor H.S. Ananthanarayana, Coordinator, Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University, who has taken special interest in the publication of the book and for his concern. I thank M/s. Vecon Printers for undertaking the printing of this book satisfactorily. The scholars and persons mentioned above are in no way responsible for the errors that remain, they are entirely my own.

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Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
∽/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^{n}	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

Transliteration

అ	a
ఆ	ā
ఇ	i
ఈ	ī
ఉ	u
ఊ	ū
ఋ	ṛ
ఎ	e
ఏ	ē
ఐ	ai
ఒ	o
ఓ	ō
ఔ	au
ం	ṃ
ఁ	V^n
ః	ḥ
క	k
ఖ	kh
గ	g
ఘ	gh
ఙ	ṅ
చ	c
ఛ	ch
జ	j
ఝ	jh
ఞ	ñ
ట	ṭ
ఠ	ṭh
డ	ḍ
ఢ	ḍh
ణ	ṇ
త	t
థ	th
ద	d
ధ	dh
న	n
ప	p
ఫ	ph
బ	b
భ	bh
మ	m
య	y
ర	r
ఱ	ṟ
ల	l
ళ	ḷ
వ	v
శ	ś
ష	ṣ
స	s
హ	h
ౙ	ẓ
ı	Alveolar stop

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

1.3. Several scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma (1924), K. Ramakrishniah (1929), C. Narayana Rao (1937) and G.J. Somayaji (1947) have made attempts at a historical study of the early Telugu inscriptions. In his *Historical Grammar of Telugu*, K. Mahadeva Sastry (1969 based on his 1962 Ph.D. dissertation) has made a study of the history of the Telugu language with special reference to early Telugu from 200 B.C. to 1100 A.D.. B. Radhakrishna (1964) has made a systematic study of the historical and comparative aspects of the language of early Telugu inscriptions upto the 11th century. M. Kandappa Chetty (1966) collected about 1800 inscriptions belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries A.D. and studied the historical aspects of the language of these centuries. Though he has gathered enormous data from the inscriptions, he has left many of the phonological problems unsolved. He has not separated the phonology of the native words from that of the unassimilated loanwords. The present work is a continuation of the study of inscriptional Telugu from the 15th century to 1890 A.D., the date of the last available inscriptional record. A total of 992 published inscriptions are available for this period, and these have been thoroughly studied in terms of historical evolution of the language.

1.4. Formerly, scholars (K. Mahadeva Sastry: 4-5) have divided the history of the Telugu language into three periods: (1) Pre-Nannaya period or Old Telugu, (2) Post-Nannaya period or Middle Telugu, and (3) Modern period or New Telugu. Recently, Bh. Krishnamurti (1974, §§ 16.5-7) has set up four stages in the history of the Telugu language, taking major linguistic changes into account. According to him, there are four stages in the history of the Telugu language (1974: 449-466) :

Stage I : 200 A.D. to 700 A.D.
Stage II : 700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Stage III : 1200 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Stage IV : 1600 A.D. to 1900 A.D.

Stage I :During the first stage, i.e. from 200 A.D. to 700 A.D., the main source for the study of Telugu language is vocabulary available in the Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions. No important changes in the native element can be found during this period.

Stage II: Most of the important phonological changes started and ran their full course during the second stage, i.e. 700-1200 A.D. For instance, *ẓ* changed to *ḍ*, although *ẓ* continued to appear in writing upto the 13th century. Change of *ẓ* to *r* in the initial consonant clusters also started during this stage, from the 8th century. The other important changes found during the period are: merger of *ṟ* and *r*, deretroflexion: *ṇ* > *n* and *ḷ* > *l*, change of *nṟ* to *ṇḍ*; loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters; merger of initial *ḍ* with *d* (from 11th

century). Replacement of homorganic nasals by anuswara [o] in writing became a permanent feature by the end of the 12th century.

Stage III: The third stage, i.e. 1200-1600 A.D. a transitional from Old Telugu to Modern Telugu, during which most of the spoken forms closer to the present day Telugu started to appear. During this stage, the merger of ṟ and r has been completed and cases of inverse spellings with ṟ for original r could be seen to be on the increase. Loss of r in the initial consonant clusters was current during this period and forms with and without the loss of r are found with almost equal frequency. Change of noun final *-iya* to *-e* has started. The cluster *ḍl* was replaced by *ḷḷ*; *s* was pronounced *ś* before the front vowels. In the case of morphology we notice the emergence of constructions, which are closer to Modern Telugu. Forms like *teccutāḍu* (>MTe. *testāḍu*) 'he will bring' were recorded by the 13th century itself (Ketana: 26); *-ṃ* replaced *-mu* as the final element in certain neuter nouns; *-ti-* replaced *-iti-* as the past suffix; *-eḍi* replaced *-eḍu* as the habitual suffix from the 13th century onwards; *e/ē* as an emphatic clitic in place of earlier *-a* could also be seen from the 13th century onwards. Orthographic gemination of a consonant following a fully articulated nasal was frequently used during this period.

Stage IV: Most of the changes started during Stage III were completely established during the fourth stage, i.e. 1600-1900 A.D. In nominal stems, word-final *-iya* was completely replaced by *-e*. Lowered *e/ē* (presumably pronounced as æ ǣ) was indicated by *ya yā* or *a ā*. Word-initially, *o/va* alternation could be frequently seen during this period. Past negative forms like *cēyalēdu* 'did not do' were found by 1600 A.D. *-tū-/-tā-* has replaced *-cu(n)-* as the present tense marker. Modern verb forms like *testāḍu*, *vastāḍu* became frequent. Writing the stops geminated to indicate a preceding full nasal is much more regular during this period.

1.5. The period covered by the present study, therefore, overlaps two stages, part of Stage III and all of Stage IV. However, for the purpose of the present study we set up the following stages in the evolution of Telugu.

Old :	(*a*) Eary Old Telugu 200 A.D. to 700 A.D. (*b*) Late Old Telugu 701 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Middle :	(*a*) Early Middle Telugu 1201 A.D. to 1400 A.D. (*b*) Late Middle Telugu 1401 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Modern :	(*a*) Early Modern Telugu 1601 A.D. to 1900 A.D. (*b*) Modern Telugu 1901 onwards

1.6. The period of the present study has temporal unity in one respect. Apart from Sanskrit loans and other early borrowings, loanwords from Arabic and Persian sources are found in inscriptional Telugu from the early 15th

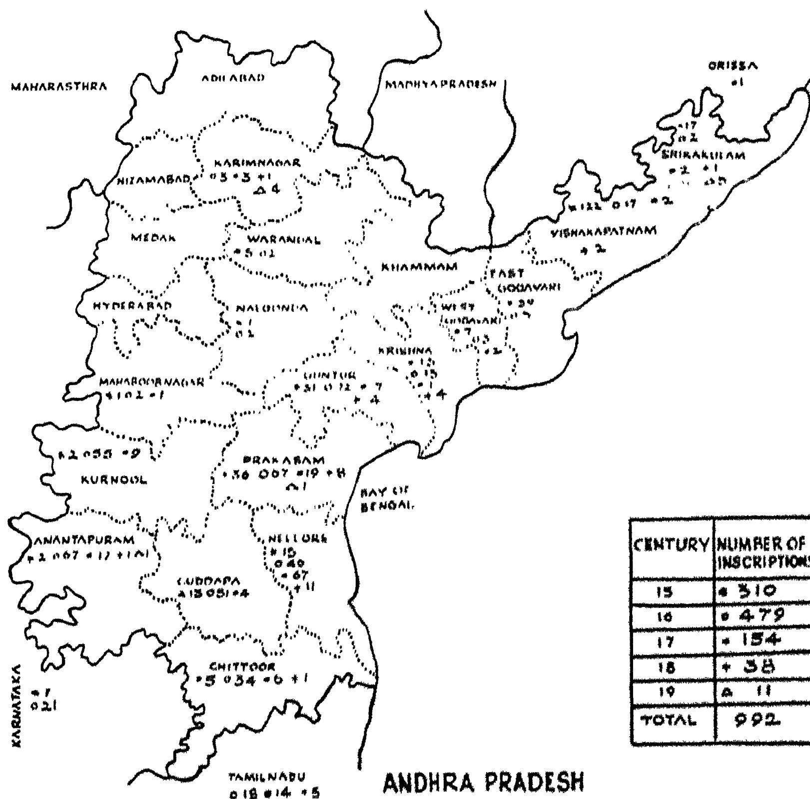
century owing to political and cultural contacts with the Moghals, the Bahamanies and other muslim rulers. Such lexical borrowing is much more extensive from the 16th century onwards i.e. during the rule of the Telugu country by the Kutub Shahis. Śrinatha, a great Telugu poet (1360-1450 A.D.), described Annayamantri, to whom he dedicated his poetic work *Bhīmakhanḍamu*, as a scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turushka languages (Modekurti Satyanarayana 1959: 65-72). These languages apparently enjoyed popularity and prestige in the Telugu country by the beginning of the 15th century. But it is very difficult to say how the loanwords were pronounced since they were recorded with innumerable variations in the inscriptions. Loanwords from English also could be seen from 1802 A.D. onwards. On the whole, we can say that the Telugu language has taken its present shape during the period under study.

1.7. Though the inscriptions collected for the present study are distributed throughout the Telugu country, the largest number of them belong to the Coastal and the Rayalasima areas and only a few inscriptions belong to the Telangana region[1] Some regional isoglosses could be set up with the help of the material, but since only a few inscriptions are available from the Telangana region, it has not been possible to make a comprehensive dialect study of the language of the inscriptions; only a fragmentary treatment is given wherever possible. Moreover, many of the changes which are said to have originated in particular region during the earlier centuries (M. Kandappa Chetty: 432-445) are found to have spread throughout the Telugu country during the period under study.

1.8. I have completely depended upon the published texts, edited by eminent scholars in epigraphy No attempt has been made to research the exact dates of undated inscriptions beyond identifying the century to which they belong, because it does not affect our conclusions in any way. In addition to the inscriptions, *Rāyavācakamu* a prose work written by an agent of Sri Viswanatha Nayaka of Madhura (ca. 1520 A.D.) is also included in our data for the study of the Telugu language of the 16th century. Telugu script took a distinct shape and got separated from the earlier Telugu-Kannada script known as the Bhattiprolu variety from 1300 A.D. onwards (Burnell A.C. 1878:25). I have tried to interpret inscriptional orthography thoroughly and I have also tried to treat orthographical errors separately in the following chapter. I have completely left out of my analysis forms known to be clearly printing mistakes in the published texts. Century-wise and region-wise distribution of the inscriptions studied is given in a map below. A complete list of inscriptions with sources used as data is given as Appendix I to this volume.

[1]Four main regional dialects have been identified in Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti 1962). (1) North : Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. (2) Central : East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts, (3) South : Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Ananthapur and Chittoor (including the newly formed Prakasham district), and (4) Telangana or Western : Mahabubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Kareemnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INSCRIPTIONS



CENTURY	NUMBER OF INSCRIPTIONS
15	• 310
16	• 479
17	• 154
18	+ 38
19	△ 11
TOTAL	992

1.9. Correspondences between the phonemes of Telugu (native and non-native) and the graphs employed to represent them are given below:

TABLE 1A : CONSONANTS : PRIMARY AND SECONDARY GRAPHS

	Graphic representation				
Consonantal phoneme	Primary graph occurring in syllable initial position		Secondary graph occurring in post-consonantal position		
1	2		3		4
/k/	క	(ka)	్క	లెక్క	(lekka)
/kh/	ఖ	(kha)	్ఖ	మూర్ఖ	(mūrkha)
/g/	గ	(ga)	్గ	లగ్గ	(lagga)
/gh/	ఘ	(gha)	్ఘ	అర్ఘ్యం	(arghyaṃ)
/ṅ/	ఙ	(ṅa)	్ఙ	---	---
/c/	చ	(ca)	్చ	పచ్చలు	(paccalu)
/ch/	ఛ	(cha)	్ఛ	మచ్ఛ	(maccha)
/j/	జ	(ja)	్జ	సెజ్జ	(sejja)
/jh/	ఝ	(jha)	్ఝ	---	---
/ñ/	ఞ	(ña)	్ఞ	ఆజ్ఞ	(ājña)
/ṭ/	ట	(ṭa)	్ట	గట్టు	(gaṭṭu)
/ṭh/	ఠ	(ṭha)	్ఠ	ప్రతిష్ఠ	(pratiṣṭha)
/ḍ/	డ	(ḍa)	్డ	బిడ్డ	(biḍḍa)
/ḍh/	ఢ	(ḍha)	్ఢ	దార్ఢ్యం	(dārḍhyaṃ)
/ṇ/	ణ	(ṇa)	్ణ	కర్ణ	(karṇa)
/t/	త	(ta)	్త	కొత్త	(kotta)
/th/	థ	(tha)	్థ	స్థలం	(sthalaṃ)
/d/	ద	(da)	్ద	పెద్ద	(pedda)
/dh/	ధ	(dha)	్ధ	అర్ధ	(ardha)
/n/	న	(na)	్న	అన్న	(anna)
/p/	ప	(pa)	్ప	తప్పు	(tappu)
/ph/	ఫ	(pha)	్ఫ	సత్ఫల	(satphala)
/b/	బ	(ba)	్బ	అబ్బన	(abbana)
/bh/	భ	(bha)	్భ	ఉద్భవ	(udbhava)
/m/	మ	(ma)	్మ	అమ్మ	(amma)
/y/	య	(ya)	్య	అయ్య	(ayya)

1	2		3			4
/r/	ర	(ra)	్ర	గుర్రాలు	(gurrālu)	Symbol (ౕ) is also used when r is first member in clusters and it is placed after the second member of the cluster and the following consonant is written geminated. కర్త (kartta)
/ṟ/	ఱ	(ṟa)	్ఱ	మఱ్ఱి	(maṟṟi)	
/l/	ల	(la)	్ల	తల్లి	(talli)	
/ḷ/	ళ	(ḷa)	్ళ	పళ్ళెం	(paḷḷem)	
/v/	వ	(va)	్వ	అవ్వ	(avva)	
/ś/	శ	(śa)	్శ	దర్శనం	(darśanaṃ)	
/ṣ/	ష	(ṣa)	్ష	ఆక్షేపణ	(ākṣēpaṇa)	
/s/	స	(sa)	్స	లెస్స	(lessa)	
/ẓ/	ఴ	(ẓa)			—	Retroflex continuant of PDr.

TABLE IB : VOWELS : PRIMARY AND SECONDARY GRAPHS

Vowel phoneme	Primary graph occurring in word initial position		Secondary graph occurring in post-consonantal position			
1	2		3			4
/a/	అలుగు	(alugu)	✓	ఒకటి	(okaṭi)	
/ā/	ఆకు	(āku)	ా	వాక	(vāka)	
/i/	ఇతడు	(itaḍu)	ి	బిడ్డ	(biḍḍa)	
/ī/	ఈయన	(īyana)	ీ	వీరు	(vīru)	
/u/	ఉన్నది	(unnadi)	ు	గుట్ట	(guṭṭa)	
/ū/	ఊరు	(ūru)	ూ	నూరు	(nūru)	
/ṛ/	ఋణం	(ṛṇaṃ)	ృ	కృత	(kṛta)	
/e/	ఎల్ల	(ella)	ె	వెన్న	(venna)	
/ē/	ఏడు	(ēḍu)	ే	వేయి	(vēyi)	
/ai/	ఐదు	(aidu)	ై	పైరు	(pairu)	
/o/	ఒకటి	(okaṭi)	ొ	దొమ్మరి	(dommari)	
/ō/	ఓడ	(ōḍa)	ో	కోట	(kōṭa)	
/au/	ఔను	(aunu)	ౌ	రౌద్ర	(raudra)	

CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION OF INSCRIPTIONAL ORTHOGRAPHY

2.0. A scientific study of a writing system deals with the distributional regularities of graphic signs and tries to establish an exact link between these and the linguistic units that they represent. The writing may represent sounds, phonemes, phonemic sequences, morphophonemes, syllables or words. The writing may also provide visible proof of sound change and display phonological variation. Again, there are cases of pure graphic variation of certain sounds which may be confused with phonological variation. Particularly, writing in the inscriptions is often influenced by the actual pronunciation in the native dialect of the scribes and different scribes could use slightly different spellings. In inscriptional writings, there is a greater graphic variation as compared to modern Telugu orthography. Traditional grammarians have formulated certain rules to minimise such variation, as will be discussed in the following sections. In the present chapter an attempt is made to provide criteria for the linguistic interpretation of the orthography of inscriptions during the period under study. As the Telugu syllabary of any period is near phonemic and the forms are represented with broad phonetic accuracy, the phonetic values of its symbols are clearly indicated by the writing of the scribes.

The principles for the interpretation of the inscriptional writing can be brought under the following headings :

1. Orthographic abbreviation
2. Systematic spelling conventions: phonemic representation
3. Aberrant spelling conventions: phonemic interpretation
4. Spelling variation: phonemic interpretation
5. Inverse spellings
6. Hyper-correct forms
7. Transfer of native pattern of spelling variation to non-native lexical items
8. Obvious misspellings

2.1. ORTHOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATION

There are certain writing habits found in the Telugu inscriptions, which cannot be said to represent actual pronunciation of contemporary

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

peṭni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ౕ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ౕ and reading them as sequences of ౕCC (where (ౕ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ౕ)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El ౙ where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

may be a cover symbol for homorganic nasal as it is before stops. This practice is infrequent in later centuries and is abandoned in modern Telugu writing.

gomna (= gonna) 'that taken' SII 5:149.9,1402
gumḍakamma (= gumḍakamma) 'name of a river' SII 10:586.9,1448
amnayya (= annayya) 'elder brother' SII 4:271.7,1494
cimnamādēvamma (= cinnamādēvamma) 'n.pr.f.' SII 8:495.21,1516
vimnapam (= vinnapam) 'request' SII 7:569.22,1580

2.24. Use of digraphs

(a) //cy// = /ć/, //sy// = /ś/

There is a practice of using symbol for y to indicate the palatal quality of the preceding consonant, though it is rarely found in the inscriptions.

ācyamdrārkasthāyigā 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 10:771. 14, 1692
syālivāhana 'name of an era' SII 16:193.2,1554
syūdrulu 'people belonging to the fourth caste' SII 10:771.15,1692

(b) //ts// = /c/

There is also a practice, though rare, of writing the digraph //ts// for the alveolar variant of /c/ before back vowels.

tsampina 'that murdered' NI 3 Podili 4.18,1514
tsāmtupaḍi 'sandal paste' SII 16:299.35 & 41,1586.
vitsu kattulu 'drawn swords' R.V. 1933.87.5, 16th century

The above examples attest to the fact that /c/ had two allophones, alveolar and palatal, before back and front vowels, respectively.

2.25 //ṃCC// = /NC/, //VṃC// = /$V^{n}C$/

The practice of writing consonants geminated following anuswāra [ṃ] to indicate the pronunciation of a full nasal, which is said to have started originally during the 9th/10th centuries (Radhakrishna: § 1.23), continues during the period under study. Many scholars have said that the anuswāra [ṃ] written as [o] preceding a nongeminate stop was always a 'half-nasal' i.e. nasalization of preceding vowel and that preceding a geminate stop was always pronounced as a 'full-nasal' (Narayana Rao: 190 & 210; Prabhakara Sastry: 93-99; Ramachandra: 137-42). Though there are certain exceptions to this practice during the period under study, it has become much more consistent from the 17th century onwards. The anuswāra, when its value is a full-nasal, is a cover symbol for homor-

century). Replacement of homorganic nasals by anuswara [o] in writing became a permanent feature by the end of the 12th century.

Stage III: The third stage, i.e. 1200-1600 A.D. a transitional from Old Telugu to Modern Telugu, during which most of the spoken forms closer to the present day Telugu started to appear. During this stage, the merger of *ṟ* and *r* has been completed and cases of inverse spellings with *ṟ* for original *r* could be seen to be on the increase. Loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters was current during this period and forms with and without the loss of *r* are found with almost equal frequency. Change of noun final *-iya* to *-e* has started. The cluster *ḍḷ* was replaced by *ḷḷ*; *s* was pronounced *ś* before the front vowels. In the case of morphology we notice the emergence of constructions, which are closer to Modern Telugu. Forms like *teccutǣḍu* (>MTe. *testǣḍu*) 'he will bring' were recorded by the 13th century itself (Ketana: 26); *-ṃ* replaced *-mu* as the final element in certain neuter nouns; *-ti-* replaced *-iti-* as the past suffix; *-eḍi* replaced *-eḍu* as the habitual suffix from the 13th century onwards; *e/ē* as an emphatic clitic in place of earlier *-a* could also be seen from the 13th century onwards. Orthographic gemination of a consonant following a fully articulated nasal was frequently used during this period.

Stage IV: Most of the changes started during Stage III were completely established during the fourth stage, i.e. 1600-1900 A.D. In nominal stems, word-final *-iya* was completely replaced by *-e*. Lowered *e/ē* (presumably pronounced as æ ǣ) was indicated by *ya yǣ* or *a ǣ*. Word-initially, *o/va* alternation could be frequently seen during this period. Past negative forms like *cĕyalĕdu* 'did not do' were found by 1600 A.D. *-tū-/-tǣ-* has replaced *-cu(n)-* as the present tense marker. Modern verb forms like *testǣḍu*, *vastǣḍu* became frequent. Writing the stops geminated to indicate a preceding full nasal is much more regular during this period.

1.5. The period covered by the present study, therefore, overlaps two stages, part of Stage III and all of Stage IV. However, for the purpose of the present study we set up the following stages in the evolution of Telugu.

Old :	(*a*) Eary Old Telugu 200 A.D. to 700 A.D. (*b*) Late Old Telugu 701 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Middle :	(*a*) Early Middle Telugu 1201 A.D. to 1400 A.D. (*b*) Late Middle Telugu 1401 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Modern :	(*a*) Early Modern Telugu 1601 A.D. to 1900 A.D. (*b*) Modern Telugu 1901 onwards

1.6. The period of the present study has temporal unity in one respect. Apart from Sanskrit loans and other early borrowings, loanwords from Arabic and Persian sources are found in inscriptional Telugu from the early 15th

campina '(he) who killed' SII 10:575.18,1408
gumdakamma 'name of a river' SII 10:586.9, 1448
Komdappa 'n.pr.' SII 10:777.12, 1740
taṭākambu 'tank' SII 10:573.61,1405
sādhimci 'having gained' SII 8:495.14,1516
varṣambulu 'years' SII 7:555.1,1546
yimdulō 'in this' SII 10:757.30,1650
sthalamamdu 'in the place' SII 5:1159.8-9, 1828

When [m] is preceded by a long vowel, the following consonants are not written geminated, since [m] has the value of a half-nasal or a zero. All these examples belong to the native element.

mīmdi 'on' SII 10:576.9, 1410
kāmgā 'as soon as it was done' SII 10:582.8, 1415; SII 10:776.2, 1736
tūmkālu 'measures' TIDES 3:38.8,1512
dāmṭi 'having crossed' SII 10:751.25,1592
tōmṭalu 'gardens' SII 10:756.12,1619
āmdabadaculu 'young women' NI 2 Nellore 5.6-7,1653

[m] occuring after a long vowel, but before a consonant cluster, which involves a morpheme boundary, is phonemically a full-nasal (*B.V* 4-15; China Sitarama Swamy Sastry 1951:111). Here, the following consonant is not written geminated.

dugāmdlu 'half pennies' NI 2 Kandukur 18.26,1408
āmdlanu 'wives (acc.)' NI 2 Ongole 30.24,1482
yēmdlu 'years' SII 10:777.3, 17th century
vāmdlu 'they (hum.)' NI 2 Kandukur 41.53,1683;
NI 2 Kandukur 52.11,1635

The practice of writing a geminate consonant after [m] to indicate its value as full-nasal might have derived from the fact that [m] retains its full value before a consonant cluster even after long vowel. This can be described in the following rules.

(a) //V̄m// → /V̄ⁿ/ ___ C
(b) //V̄m// → /V̄N/ ___ C + C
(c) /C/ → //CC// / m ___ (where m N)

The same practice is found in Sanskrit loanwords, although there is no half-nasal in Sanskrit. But the practice is not as frequent as it is in the native words.

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
↼/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// ↽ //Ch// · CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

mlēchulu (= mlēcchulu) 'foreigners' R.V.1933.61.12,16th century
prachanna (= pracchanna) 'disguised' R.V.1933.107.20,16th century

It appears from the above data that an aspirated geminate occurring in borrowed Sanskrit words was orthographically represented as a single aspirated consonant in Telugu, but phonetically realized as an unaspirated geminate. This has led to representing unaspirated geminate stops of native words as a single aspirated consonants in the orthography. This orthographic back formation can be symbolized as follows:—

	Phonemic (in Sanskrit)		*Orthographic* (in Telugu)		*Phonetic and phonemic* (in Telugu)
NON-NATIVE	/CCh/	⟶	//CCh// ↽ //Ch//	⟶	[CC] /CC/
			//CCh// ↽ //Ch//	⟵	[CC] /CC/

The following is the example for the actual phonetic and phonemic representation of aspirated geminate in Sanskrit loans in Telugu i.e. CC for CCh.

sudda (for śuddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 10:591.1, 15th century

The above phenomenon of representing phonemic /CC/ as //CCh// ↽ //Ch// has further been extended to orthographic //CC//, which occurs in post nasal and post r position.

varṣaṃbhulu 'years' SII 5:14.1,1410; SII 4:709.2,1558
suṃkhāla 'taxes' SII 10:745.9,1530; SII 10:739.14,16th century
samarphiṃcenu 'presented' NI 3 Ongole 68.16,1534

There are a few cases of hyper correct gemination in the inscriptions as the consequence of the above practice.

ddh for dh

ddharmma (for dharma) 'duty' NI 3 Podili 4.8,1514

We notice //CC// being written sporadically as ChC and ChCh also

lekhka (= lekka) 'account' SII 5:1175.9,1419
suṃkhkaṃ (= suṃkaṃ) 'tax' SII 10:745.9,1530
makhkha (= makka) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 80.38,1614

2.32. $//V\dot{m}N \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Y \end{Bmatrix}// = /VN \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Y \end{Bmatrix}/$

The practice of writing an anuswāra before geminated nasals and nasals + sonorant combinations is frequently found in the material. Though this practice was also noticed by the earlier scholars (Narayana Rao:211), no interpretation has been given in their works. The anuswāra in these environments might be indicative of nasalization of the vowel preceding a nasal. Though

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

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gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
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Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ɾ)

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1.3. Several scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma (1924), K. Ramakrishniah (1929), C. Narayana Rao (1937) and G.J. Somayaji (1947) have made attempts at a historical study of the early Telugu inscriptions. In his *Historical Grammar of Telugu*, K. Mahadeva Sastry (1969 based on his 1962 Ph.D. dissertation) has made a study of the history of the Telugu language with special reference to early Telugu from 200 B.C. to 1100 A.D.. B. Radhakrishna (1964) has made a systematic study of the historical and comparative aspects of the language of early Telugu inscriptions upto the 11th century. M. Kandappa Chetty (1966) collected about 1800 inscriptions belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries A.D. and studied the historical aspects of the language of these centuries. Though he has gathered enormous data from the inscriptions, he has left many of the phonological problems unsolved. He has not separated the phonology of the native words from that of the unassimilated loanwords. The present work is a continuation of the study of inscriptional Telugu from the 15th century to 1890 A.D., the date of the last available inscriptional record. A total of 992 published inscriptions are available for this period, and these have been thoroughly studied in terms of historical evolution of the language.

1.4. Formerly, scholars (K. Mahadeva Sastry: 4-5) have divided the history of the Telugu language into three periods: (1) Pre-Nannaya period or Old Telugu, (2) Post-Nannaya period or Middle Telugu, and (3) Modern period or New Telugu. Recently, Bh. Krishnamurti (1974, §§ 16.5-7) has set up four stages in the history of the Telugu language, taking major linguistic changes into account. According to him, there are four stages in the history of the Telugu language (1974: 449-466) :

Stage I : 200 A.D. to 700 A.D.
Stage II : 700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Stage III : 1200 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Stage IV : 1600 A.D. to 1900 A.D.

Stage I :During the first stage, i.e. from 200 A.D. to 700 A.D., the main source for the study of Telugu language is vocabulary available in the Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions. No important changes in the native element can be found during this period.

Stage II: Most of the important phonological changes started and ran their full course during the second stage, i.e. 700-1200 A.D. For instance, *ẓ* changed to *ḍ*, although *ẓ* continued to appear in writing upto the 13th century. Change of *ẓ* to *r* in the initial consonant clusters also started during this stage, from the 8th century. The other important changes found during the period are: merger of *ṟ* and *r*, deretroflexion: *ṇ* > *n* and *ḷ* > *l*, change of *nṟ* to *ṇḍ*; loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters; merger of initial *ḍ* with *d* (from 11th

(*iii*) Forms ending in -*e* (-*CCe*/-*Ce*)

NORTH : gorṟelu 'sheep' SII 6:656.16,1417
pallem̩ 'a platter' SII 6:94.3,1516

CENTRAL : kōde 'young' SII 4:659.8, 1485
pallem̩ 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518

SOUTH : ginne 'dish' TTDES 3:49.4, 1512
tēne 'honey' SII 16:50.5,1513
pallem̩ 'a platter' SII 10:758.10, 1658
muttēlu 'pearls' TTDES 3:32.2, 1512

(*iv*) Forms ending in -*a*

NORTH : vīsalu 'a kind of measure of grain (pl.)' SII 6:1040.4, 1417

CENTRAL : pallam̩ 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518

SOUTH : gōna 'a sack' SII 10:753.6, 1600
nūna 'oil' SII 16:328.6, 1642

Since all the graphic variants -*ya*, -*e* and -*a* are found in the inscriptions belonging to all the regions, it can be interpreted that the spelling variation in the above cases represents a single sound i.e. a lower mind front vowel [ε], as it is pronounced in Modern Telugu.[7] It can be supported by the fact that, in one case, all the variants occur in the same inscription, *e.g.*, *pal̩yālu*/*pallem̩ pallam̩*/*palālu* '(a) platter (s)' SII 4:981.6, 1518

However, in some cases -*ya* forms might be due to the continuation of an older spelling and the -*e* forms represented the actual change i.e. *iya*>*ya*>*e* in contemporary Telugu.

The sequences of chronological developments in the above cases can be stated by the following rules.

Phonemic rules

1. $i > \phi / \not+ \ldots\ldots C$—*ya*
2. *Cya*>a. *CCe*/*V*—(where *C* is not *ḍ*)
   b. *Ce*/$\bar{V}$—

Phonetic rule

3. $e \rightarrow \varepsilon / _(mu/m)\not+$

older forms : goṟiya nūniya pallyam̩[8]

[7]Kandappa Chetty (§1.72-74 & 6.4) thinks that the variation-*ya*, -*e* and -*a* was dialectal. According to him -*ya* and -*a* ending forms occurred only in the Northern dialect, the -*e* ending forms in the Central dialect and the -*u*/-ϕ forms in Southern dialect. Among these -*iya*> -*u*/-ϕ is not phonologically motivated. Further, he failed to notice the -*ya* ending forms occurring also in the Southern dialect during the 13th century itself.

[8]Etymologically *Pallem̩* is not an-*iya* ending form, but an -*aya* ending form (*DED* 3308).

Rule 1	goṛya	nūnya	paḷyaṃ
Rule 2	goṛṛe	nūne	paḷḷeṃ
Rule 3	goṛṛɛ	nūnɛ	paḷḷɛṃ[9]

Orthographically this (ɛ) is represented by various spellings, i.e. *-e*, *-ya* and *-a*. Even in the following sandhi forms spelling variation *ya/e* might have represented a lower mid front vowel (ɛ), which results from sandhi of *i+a*.[10] Both of the following examples have the structure, the name of a women+a female suffix.

kāmākṣyamma(←kāmākṣi+amma) SII 7:561.9, 1565
anitallemaṃgāru(←anitalli+amaṃgāru) SII 5:109.8, 1423

In the following cases of internal sandhi also the graphic variation *ya/e* might have stood for a lower mid front vowel

(*i*) *a+e→?* (phonetically [ɛ])

aḍḍa+e(ṃ)ḍu 'adda-ful measure'
aḍyaḍu SII 5:1239.8, 1418
aḍḍeḍu SII 1248.22, 1471

(*ii*) *i+e→?*(phonetically[ɛ])

puṭṭi+e(ṃ)ḍu 'puttiful measure'
puṭyaṃḍu SII 6:1024.6, 1416
puṭyaḍu SII 4:800.18, 1513
puṭṭeṃḍu NI 2 Kandukur 68.23, 1406
puṭṭeḍu SII 5:44.11, 1458

yē in the following instance might have represented the lower mid front vowel.

myēraku 'upto' NI 3 Rapur 30.8, 1638

(f) *m/v*

māmiḍi/māviḍi 'mango' SII 5:1228.7, 1503; NI 2 Kandukur 46.37, 1682
māvasaṃ (,māṃsaṃ) 'meat' SII 16:207.10-11, 1556

Here, *v* appears to represent an allophone of *m*, i.e. (v^m) in the intervocalic position and before *s* as it is in Modern Telugu.

[9]In Modern Telugu the plurals of *paḷḷeṃ* [*paḷḷɛṃ*], *kaḷḷeṃ* [*kaḷḷɛṃ*] are *paḷḷæ lu* and *kaḷḷælu*, respectively.

[10]B. Radhakrishna (1964:375) interpreted the representation like *mañcyaṇa* (*mañci*+*aṇa* EI 17:534-337.11,610 as the wrong application of the Sanskrit Sandhi rule i.e. *i→y/*__a vowel other than *i*.

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century

tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

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(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

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(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv/ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
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saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN//* = */NN/*.

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443
siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as	
siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) */ṃs/—//v(V)s, ṃsy, sy//*

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of *//m//* or *//v//* (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically */m/* in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v/h/s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced ($v^n hv^n$) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prasa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm/ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

(*iii*) Forms ending in -*e* (-*CCe*/-*Ce*)

NORTH : gorṟelu 'sheep' SII 6:656.16,1417
pallem̩ 'a platter' SII 6:94.3,1516

CENTRAL : kōde 'young' SII 4:659.8, 1485
pallem̩ 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518

SOUTH : ginne 'dish' TTDES 3:49.4, 1512
tēne 'honey' SII 16:50.5,1513
pallem̩ 'a platter' SII 10:758.10, 1658
muttēlu 'pearls' TTDES 3:32.2, 1512

(*iv*) Forms ending in -*a*

NORTH : vīṣalu 'a kind of measure of grain (pl.)' SII 6:1040.4, 1417

CENTRAL : pallam̩ 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518

SOUTH : gōna 'a sack' SII 10:753.6, 1600
nūna 'oil' SII 16:328.6, 1642

Since all the graphic variants -*ya*, -*e* and -*a* are found in the inscriptions belonging to all the regions, it can be interpreted that the spelling variation in the above cases represents a single sound i.e. a lower mind front vowel [ɛ], as it is pronounced in Modern Telugu.[7] It can be supported by the fact that, in one case, all the variants occur in the same inscription, *e.g.*, *palyālu*/*pallem̩* *pallam̩*/*palālu* '(a) platter (s)' SII 4:981.6, 1518

However, in some cases -*ya* forms might be due to the continuation of an older spelling and the -*e* forms represented the actual change i.e. *iya*>*ya*>*e* in contemporary Telugu.

The sequences of chronological developments in the above cases can be stated by the following rules.

Phonemic rules

1. $i > \phi / \neq \ldots\ldots C$—*ya*
2. *Cya*>a. *CCe*/*V*—(where *C* is not *ḍ*)
   b. *Ce*/$\bar{V}$—

Phonetic rule

3. $e \rightarrow \varepsilon / _(mu/m)\neq$

older forms : goṟiya nūniya pallyam̩[8]

[7]Kandappa Chetty (§1.72-74 & 6.4) thinks that the variation-*ya*, -*e* and -*a* was dialectal. According to him -*ya* and -*a* ending forms occurred only in the Northern dialect, the -*e* ending forms in the Central dialect and the -*u*/-ϕ forms in Southern dialect. Among these -*iya*> -*u*/-ϕ is not phonologically motivated. Further, he failed to notice the -*ya* ending forms occurring also in the Southern dialect during the 13th century itself.

[8]Etymologically *Pallem̩* is not an-*iya* ending form, but an -*aya* ending form (*DED* 3308).

CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION OF INSCRIPTIONAL ORTHOGRAPHY

2.0. A scientific study of a writing system deals with the distributional regularities of graphic signs and tries to establish an exact link between these and the linguistic units that they represent. The writing may represent sounds, phonemes, phonemic sequences, morphophonemes, syllables or words. The writing may also provide visible proof of sound change and display phonological variation. Again, there are cases of pure graphic variation of certain sounds which may be confused with phonological variation. Particularly, writing in the inscriptions is often influenced by the actual pronunciation in the native dialect of the scribes and different scribes could use slightly different spellings. In inscriptional writings, there is a greater graphic variation as compared to modern Telugu orthography. Traditional grammarians have formulated certain rules to minimise such variation, as will be discussed in the following sections. In the present chapter an attempt is made to provide criteria for the linguistic interpretation of the orthography of inscriptions during the period under study. As the Telugu syllabary of any period is near phonemic and the forms are represented with broad phonetic accuracy, the phonetic values of its symbols are clearly indicated by the writing of the scribes.

The principles for the interpretation of the inscriptional writing can be brought under the following headings :

1. Orthographic abbreviation
2. Systematic spelling conventions: phonemic representation
3. Aberrant spelling conventions: phonemic interpretation
4. Spelling variation: phonemic interpretation
5. Inverse spellings
6. Hyper-correct forms
7. Transfer of native pattern of spelling variation to non-native lexical items
8. Obvious misspellings

2.1. ORTHOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATION

There are certain writing habits found in the Telugu inscriptions, which cannot be said to represent actual pronunciation of contemporary

century). Replacement of homorganic nasals by anuswara [o] in writing became a permanent feature by the end of the 12th century.

Stage III: The third stage, i.e. 1200-1600 A.D. a transitional from Old Telugu to Modern Telugu, during which most of the spoken forms closer to the present day Telugu started to appear. During this stage, the merger of *ṟ* and *r* has been completed and cases of inverse spellings with *ṟ* for original *r* could be seen to be on the increase. Loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters was current during this period and forms with and without the loss of *r* are found with almost equal frequency. Change of noun final *-iya* to *-e* has started. The cluster *ḍl* was replaced by *ḷḷ*; *s* was pronounced *ś* before the front vowels. In the case of morphology we notice the emergence of constructions, which are closer to Modern Telugu. Forms like *teccutāḍu* (>MTe. *testāḍu*) 'he will bring' were recorded by the 13th century itself (Ketana: 26); *-ṃ* replaced *-mu* as the final element in certain neuter nouns; *-ti-* replaced *-iti-* as the past suffix; *-eḍi* replaced *-eḍu* as the habitual suffix from the 13th century onwards; *e/ē* as an emphatic clitic in place of earlier *-a* could also be seen from the 13th century onwards. Orthographic gemination of a consonant following a fully articulated nasal was frequently used during this period.

Stage IV: Most of the changes started during Stage III were completely established during the fourth stage, i.e. 1600-1900 A.D. In nominal stems, word-final *-iya* was completely replaced by *-e*. Lowered *e/ē* (presumably pronounced as æ ǣ) was indicated by *ya yā* or *a ā*. Word-initially, *o/va* alternation could be frequently seen during this period. Past negative forms like *cēyalēdu* 'did not do' were found by 1600 A.D. *-tū-/-tā-* has replaced *-cu(n)-* as the present tense marker. Modern verb forms like *testāḍu*, *vastāḍu* became frequent. Writing the stops geminated to indicate a preceding full nasal is much more regular during this period.

1.5. The period covered by the present study, therefore, overlaps two stages, part of Stage III and all of Stage IV. However, for the purpose of the present study we set up the following stages in the evolution of Telugu.

Old :	(*a*) Eary Old Telugu 200 A.D. to 700 A.D. (*b*) Late Old Telugu 701 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Middle :	(*a*) Early Middle Telugu 1201 A.D. to 1400 A.D. (*b*) Late Middle Telugu 1401 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Modern :	(*a*) Early Modern Telugu 1601 A.D. to 1900 A.D. (*b*) Modern Telugu 1901 onwards

1.6. The period of the present study has temporal unity in one respect. Apart from Sanskrit loans and other early borrowings, loanwords from Arabic and Persian sources are found in inscriptional Telugu from the early 15th

(g) *s*/*ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.
cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401
cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century
tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB*/*N*(*N*)

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406
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(j) *ṃv* /*ṃhv*; *ṃh*/*ṃhv*; *ṃs*/*ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

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	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) /*ṃh*/→//*ṃhv*, *hv*, *ṃhy*, *hy*, *ṃhm*, *hm*, *ṃhmv*//

[11] See 2.23 for //*ṃN*// = /*NN*/.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

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	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN//* = */NN/*.

ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalaṃbi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j/jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramaṃdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI.* 2-37) and other later poets.

century). Replacement of homorganic nasals by anuswara [o] in writing became a permanent feature by the end of the 12th century.

Stage III: The third stage, i.e. 1200-1600 A.D. a transitional from Old Telugu to Modern Telugu, during which most of the spoken forms closer to the present day Telugu started to appear. During this stage, the merger of *ṟ* and *r* has been completed and cases of inverse spellings with *ṟ* for original *r* could be seen to be on the increase. Loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters was current during this period and forms with and without the loss of *r* are found with almost equal frequency. Change of noun final *-iya* to *-e* has started. The cluster *ḍl* was replaced by *ḷḷ*; *s* was pronounced *ś* before the front vowels. In the case of morphology we notice the emergence of constructions, which are closer to Modern Telugu. Forms like *teccutāḍu* (>MTe. *testāḍu*) 'he will bring' were recorded by the 13th century itself (Ketana: 26); *-m̥* replaced *-mu* as the final element in certain neuter nouns; *-ti-* replaced *-iti-* as the past suffix; *-eḍi* replaced *-eḍu* as the habitual suffix from the 13th century onwards; *e/ē* as an emphatic clitic in place of earlier *-a* could also be seen from the 13th century onwards. Orthographic gemination of a consonant following a fully articulated nasal was frequently used during this period.

Stage IV: Most of the changes started during Stage III were completely established during the fourth stage, i.e. 1600-1900 A.D. In nominal stems, word-final *-iya* was completely replaced by *-e*. Lowered *e/ē* (presumably pronounced as æ ǣ) was indicated by *ya yā* or *a ā*. Word-initially, *o/va* alternation could be frequently seen during this period. Past negative forms like *cēyalēdu* 'did not do' were found by 1600 A.D. *-tū-/-tā-* has replaced *-cu(n)-* as the present tense marker. Modern verb forms like *testāḍu*, *vastāḍu* became frequent. Writing the stops geminated to indicate a preceding full nasal is much more regular during this period.

1.5. The period covered by the present study, therefore, overlaps two stages, part of Stage III and all of Stage IV. However, for the purpose of the present study we set up the following stages in the evolution of Telugu.

Old :	(*a*) Eary Old Telugu 200 A.D. to 700 A.D. (*b*) Late Old Telugu 701 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Middle :	(*a*) Early Middle Telugu 1201 A.D. to 1400 A.D. (*b*) Late Middle Telugu 1401 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Modern :	(*a*) Early Modern Telugu 1601 A.D. to 1900 A.D. (*b*) Modern Telugu 1901 onwards

1.6. The period of the present study has temporal unity in one respect. Apart from Sanskrit loans and other early borrowings, loanwords from Arabic and Persian sources are found in inscriptional Telugu from the early 15th

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
∽/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century

tīsi/tiśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552

(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century

(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580

(krisṇamamaṃgāru)/ krisṇamamaṃṅaru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv /ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN// = /NN/*.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

(*g*) *h* for *ϕ*

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

haḷiyarāmarājayyavāri 'name of a dynasty+name of a king' SII 16:231. 9,1558
hamaranāyaṃkaraṇaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhigā (for ...... sthāyigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for $\bar{V}$

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for longthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for mārgāna) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujāri) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyānaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṝṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalaṃbi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j*/*jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramaṃdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI.* 2-37) and other later poets.

century owing to political and cultural contacts with the Moghals, the Bahamanies and other muslim rulers. Such lexical borrowing is much more extensive from the 16th century onwards i.e. during the rule of the Telugu country by the Kutub Shahis. Śrinatha, a great Telugu poet (1360-1450 A.D.), described Annayamantri, to whom he dedicated his poetic work *Bhīmakhanḍamu*, as a scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turushka languages (Modekurti Satyanarayana 1959: 65-72). These languages apparently enjoyed popularity and prestige in the Telugu country by the beginning of the 15th century. But it is very difficult to say how the loanwords were pronounced since they were recorded with innumerable variations in the inscriptions. Loanwords from English also could be seen from 1802 A.D. onwards. On the whole, we can say that the Telugu language has taken its present shape during the period under study.

1.7. Though the inscriptions collected for the present study are distributed throughout the Telugu country, the largest number of them belong to the Coastal and the Rayalasima areas and only a few inscriptions belong to the Telangana region[1] Some regional isoglosses could be set up with the help of the material, but since only a few inscriptions are available from the Telangana region, it has not been possible to make a comprehensive dialect study of the language of the inscriptions; only a fragmentary treatment is given wherever possible. Moreover, many of the changes which are said to have originated in particular region during the earlier centuries (M. Kandappa Chetty: 432-445) are found to have spread throughout the Telugu country during the period under study.

1.8. I have completely depended upon the published texts, edited by eminent scholars in epigraphy No attempt has been made to research the exact dates of undated inscriptions beyond identifying the century to which they belong, because it does not affect our conclusions in any way. In addition to the inscriptions, *Rāyavācakamu* a prose work written by an agent of Sri Viswanatha Nayaka of Madhura (ca. 1520 A.D.) is also included in our data for the study of the Telugu language of the 16th century. Telugu script took a distinct shape and got separated from the earlier Telugu-Kannada script known as the Bhattiprolu variety from 1300 A.D. onwards (Burnell A.C. 1878:25). I have tried to interpret inscriptional orthography thoroughly and I have also tried to treat orthographical errors separately in the following chapter. I have completely left out of my analysis forms known to be clearly printing mistakes in the published texts. Century-wise and region-wise distribution of the inscriptions studied is given in a map below. A complete list of inscriptions with sources used as data is given as Appendix I to this volume.

[1]Four main regional dialects have been identified in Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti 1962). (1) North : Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. (2) Central : East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts, (3) South : Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Ananthapur and Chittoor (including the newly formed Prakasham district), and (4) Telangana or Western : Mahabubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Kareemnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts.

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (్ర)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ్ర and reading them as sequences of ్రCC (where (్ర) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ్ర)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El[illegible]where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

Rule 1	goṟya	nūnya	paḷyaṃ
Rule 2	goṟṟe	nūne	paḷḷeṃ
Rule 3	goṟṟɛ	nūnɛ	paḷḷɛṃ[9]

Orthographically this (ɛ) is represented by various spellings, i.e. *-e*, *-ya* and *-a*. Even in the following sandhi forms spelling variation *ya/e* might have represented a lower mid front vowel (ɛ), which results from sandhi of *i+a*.[10] Both of the following examples have the structure, the name of a women+a female suffix.

kāmākṣyamma(←kāmākṣi+amma) SII 7:561.9, 1565
anitallemaṃgāru(←anitalli+amaṃgāru) SII 5:109.8, 1423

In the following cases of internal sandhi also the graphic variation *ya/e* might have stood for a lower mid front vowel

(*i*) *a+e*→? (phonetically [ɛ])

aḍḍa+e(ṃ)ḍu 'adda-ful measure'
aḍyaḍu SII 5:1239.8, 1418
aḍḍeḍu SII 1248.22, 1471

(*ii*) *i+e*→?(phonetically[ɛ])

puṭṭi+e(ṃ)ḍu 'puttiful measure'
puṭyaṃḍu SII 6:1024.6, 1416
puṭyaḍu SII 4:800.18, 1513
puṭṭeṃḍu NI 2 Kandukur 68.23, 1406

puṭṭeḍu SII 5:44.11, 1458

yē in the following instance might have represented the lower mid front vowel.

myēraku 'upto' NI 3 Rapur 30.8, 1638

(f) *m/v*

māmiḍi/māviḍi 'mango' SII 5:1228.7, 1503; NI 2 Kandukur 46.37, 1682
māvasaṃ (,māṃsaṃ) 'meat' SII 16:207.10-11, 1556

Here, *v* appears to represent an allophone of *m*, i.e. (*v*ⁿ) in the intervocalic position and before *s* as it is in Modern Telugu.

[9]In Modern Telugu the plurals of *paḷḷeṃ* [*paḷḷɛṃ*], *kaḷḷeṃ* [*kaḷḷɛṃ*] are *paḷḷǣ lu* and *kaḷḷǣlu*, respectively.

[10]B. Radhakrishna (1964:375) interpreted the representation like *mañcyaṇa* (*mañci*+*aṇa* EI 17:534-337.11,610 as the wrong application of the Sanskrit Sandhi rule i.e. *i*→*y*/ __a vowel other than *i*.

sukhāstiti 'state of happiness' SII 4:709.34, 1558
tirugaṃbaḍi 'having rebelled' SII 10:751.19, 1592

(*b*) Wrong occurrence of short vowels for long vowels
turpu 'East' SII 5:149.13, 1402
kurmma 'name of a holy town' SII 5:1174.2, 1422
purnnima 'full moon' SII 5:52.3, 1428
rajya 'empire' SII 5:1194.4, 1455
prasadamu 'remains of an offering to God' SII 5:1153.11-12, 1471
muḍu 'three' TIDES 5:44.72, 1545

(*c*) *a* for *i*
paschama 'West' NI 2 Kandukur 27.10, 1514
daraṇakōṭa 'a place name' SII 4:702.173, 1518

samati 'assembly or council' SII 10:781.4, 18th century

(*d*) *a* for *e*
nārikaḷa 'cocoanut' SII 4:702.138, 1518
vaḷladarimi 'having driven out' SII 5:1260.7, 1604

(*e*) *i* for *a*
modilaina 'et cetera' SII 4:280.10, 1556

(*f*) *u* for *a*
ahōrutramulu 'day and night' SII 5:1182.4, 1445

(*g*) *u* for *i*
pṛthuvi 'the earth' TTDES 4:17.2, 16th century

(*h*) *e* for *a*
kaṭṭeḍa 'law' SII 4:981.6, 1518
ārevīṭi 'name of a dynasty who ruled Vijayanagara empire' SII 4:815.5, 1550

(*i*) *e* for *i*
paḍasena 'that obtained' SII 10:572.7, 1405
podela 'village name' NI 3 podili 4.5, 1514

(*j*) *i* for *e*
sōliḍu 'a measure' SII 5:1153.11, 1471
naḍipīḍivāru '(they) may conduct' NI 3 podili 14.24, 1517

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
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∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
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←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

(*g*) *h* for ϕ

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

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hamaraṇāyaṃkaraṇaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhigā (for ...... sthāyigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for $\bar{V}$

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for longthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for mārgāna) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujāri) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyānaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṝṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// / CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (= iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (= okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (= bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (= kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (= lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (= makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (= puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (= panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// = /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (= suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (= siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

century). Replacement of homorganic nasals by anuswara [o] in writing became a permanent feature by the end of the 12th century.

Stage III: The third stage, i.e. 1200-1600 A.D. a transitional from Old Telugu to Modern Telugu, during which most of the spoken forms closer to the present day Telugu started to appear. During this stage, the merger of *r* and *r* has been completed and cases of inverse spellings with *r* for original *r* could be seen to be on the increase. Loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters was current during this period and forms with and without the loss of *r* are found with almost equal frequency. Change of noun final *-iya* to *-e* has started. The cluster *ḍl* was replaced by *ḷḷ*; *s* was pronounced *ś* before the front vowels. In the case of morphology we notice the emergence of constructions, which are closer to Modern Telugu. Forms like *teccutāḍu* (>MTe. *testāḍu*) 'he will bring' were recorded by the 13th century itself (Ketana: 26); *-ṃ* replaced *-mu* as the final element in certain neuter nouns; *-ti-* replaced *-iti-* as the past suffix; *-eḍi* replaced *-eḍu* as the habitual suffix from the 13th century onwards; *e/ē* as an emphatic clitic in place of earlier *-a* could also be seen from the 13th century onwards. Orthographic gemination of a consonant following a fully articulated nasal was frequently used during this period.

Stage IV: Most of the changes started during Stage III were completely established during the fourth stage, i.e. 1600-1900 A.D. In nominal stems, word-final *-iya* was completely replaced by *-e*. Lowered *e/ē* (presumably pronounced as æ ǣ) was indicated by *ya yā* or *a ā*. Word-initially, *o/va* alternation could be frequently seen during this period. Past negative forms like *cēyalēdu* 'did not do' were found by 1600 A.D. *-tū-/-tā-* has replaced *-cu(n)-* as the present tense marker. Modern verb forms like *testāḍu*, *vastāḍu* became frequent. Writing the stops geminated to indicate a preceding full nasal is much more regular during this period.

1.5. The period covered by the present study, therefore, overlaps two stages, part of Stage III and all of Stage IV. However, for the purpose of the present study we set up the following stages in the evolution of Telugu.

Old : (*a*) Eary Old Telugu 200 A.D. to 700 A.D.
(*b*) Late Old Telugu 701 A.D. to 1200 A.D.

Middle : (*a*) Early Middle Telugu 1201 A.D. to 1400 A.D.
(*b*) Late Middle Telugu 1401 A.D. to 1600 A.D.

Modern : (*a*) Early Modern Telugu 1601 A.D. to 1900 A.D.
(*b*) Modern Telugu 1901 onwards

1.6. The period of the present study has temporal unity in one respect. Apart from Sanskrit loans and other early borrowings, loanwords from Arabic and Persian sources are found in inscriptional Telugu from the early 15th

Intervocalically the occurrence of clusters homorganic nasal+stop represents an inherited trait; the other clusters found in the material are due to the loss of short vowels between consonants. Certain consonant groups are found across morpheme boundaries (§3.22.9).

Among the consonants only *m* and y occur in the final position.

In the root syllable all the vowels long and short occur. Only short vowels except /*o*/ can occur in the non-root syllable. Certain place names and names of certain trees and fruits, however, have a long vowel in the second syllable, e.g. *keṃbāka* 'place name' SII 16:50.6-12,1513; *voṃgōlu* 'place name' NI 3 Ongole 83.15, 1415; *kōnēru* 'a square tank' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9,1533; *mārēḷu, nērēḷu* 'both names of fruits' SII 10:737.44, 1525. These can be identified as compound words.

Geminated consonants occur only after a short vowel of the root syllable; gemination after a long vowel always results from sandhi across morph boundaries, e.g.*pāḷḷu* (pāl+ḷu) 'shares' SII 10:753.37,1600.

e occurs in final position only in disyllabic words. Tri-syllabic words with final *e* alternating with *a* have *i* in the second syllable (§ 2.45 (e)).

In trisyllabic words, if the final vowel is unrounded, the preceding vowel is also unrounded; if the final vowel is nonfront (except o), the preceding vowel is also nonfront (Rama Rao 1974 § 13.5 (13)). The following sequences are found in the material.

CVCiCi: kaṇiti 'lump' SII 6:1040.3, 1417
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In the words with a penultimate *m*, if the preceding vowel is *i* or *u* the final vowel is the same; e.g. *naḍ*(*i*) *mi* 'middle' SII 10:773.9,1697; *naḍumu* 'an intervening space' SII 5:25.11,1502. If the preceding vowel is *a* the final vowel may be *u* or *a* e.g. *veccamu* 'provision' SII 10:770.14,1691, *calama* 'fountain' NI 2 Nellore 117.10,1572. If the preceding vowel is *e* the final vowel is always *u* e.g. *palyamu* 'platter' SII 10:588.8, 15th century.

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century owing to political and cultural contacts with the Moghals, the Bahamanies and other muslim rulers. Such lexical borrowing is much more extensive from the 16th century onwards i.e. during the rule of the Telugu country by the Kutub Shahis. Śrinatha, a great Telugu poet (1360-1450 A.D.), described Annayamantri, to whom he dedicated his poetic work *Bhīmakhaṇḍamu*, as a scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turushka languages (Modekurti Satyanarayana 1959: 65-72). These languages apparently enjoyed popularity and prestige in the Telugu country by the beginning of the 15th century. But it is very difficult to say how the loanwords were pronounced since they were recorded with innumerable variations in the inscriptions. Loanwords from English also could be seen from 1802 A.D. onwards. On the whole, we can say that the Telugu language has taken its present shape during the period under study.

1.7. Though the inscriptions collected for the present study are distributed throughout the Telugu country, the largest number of them belong to the Coastal and the Rayalasima areas and only a few inscriptions belong to the Telangana region[1] Some regional isoglosses could be set up with the help of the material, but since only a few inscriptions are available from the Telangana region, it has not been possible to make a comprehensive dialect study of the language of the inscriptions; only a fragmentary treatment is given wherever possible. Moreover, many of the changes which are said to have originated in particular region during the earlier centuries (M. Kandappa Chetty: 432-445) are found to have spread throughout the Telugu country during the period under study.

1.8. I have completely depended upon the published texts, edited by eminent scholars in epigraphy No attempt has been made to research the exact dates of undated inscriptions beyond identifying the century to which they belong, because it does not affect our conclusions in any way. In addition to the inscriptions, *Rāyavācakamu* a prose work written by an agent of Sri Viswanatha Nayaka of Madhura (ca. 1520 A.D.) is also included in our data for the study of the Telugu language of the 16th century. Telugu script took a distinct shape and got separated from the earlier Telugu-Kannada script known as the Bhattiprolu variety from 1300 A.D. onwards (Burnell A.C. 1878:25). I have tried to interpret inscriptional orthography thoroughly and I have also tried to treat orthographical errors separately in the following chapter. I have completely left out of my analysis forms known to be clearly printing mistakes in the published texts. Century-wise and region-wise distribution of the inscriptions studied is given in a map below. A complete list of inscriptions with sources used as data is given as Appendix I to this volume.

[1]Four main regional dialects have been identified in Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti 1962). (1) North : Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. (2) Central : East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts, (3) South : Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Ananthapur and Chittoor (including the newly formed Prakasham district), and (4) Telangana or Western : Mahabubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Kareemnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts.

campina '(he) who killed' SII 10:575.18,1408
guṃḍakaṃma 'name of a river' SII 10:586.9, 1448
Koṃḍappa 'n.pr.' SII 10:777.12, 1740
taṭākaṃbu 'tank' SII 10:573.61,1405
sādhiṃci 'having gained' SII 8:495.14,1516
varṣaṃbulu 'years' SII 7:555.1,1546
yiṃdulō 'in this' SII 10:757.30,1650
sthalamaṃdu 'in the place' SII 5:1159.8-9, 1828

When [ṃ] is preceded by a long vowel, the following consonants are not written geminated, since [ṃ] has the value of a half-nasal or a zero. All these examples belong to the native element.

mīṃdi 'on' SII 10:576.9, 1410
kāṃgā 'as soon as it was done' SII 10:582.8, 1415; SII 10:776.2, 1736
tūṃkālu 'measures' TIDES 3:38.8,1512
dāṃṭi 'having crossed' SII 10:751.25,1592
tōṃṭalu 'gardens' SII 10:756.12,1619
āṃḍabaḍaculu 'young women' NI 2 Nellore 5.6-7,1653

[ṃ] occuring after a long vowel, but before a consonant cluster, which involves a morpheme boundary, is phonemically a full-nasal (*B.V* 4-15; China Sitarama Swamy Sastry 1951:111). Here, the following consonant is not written geminated.

dugāṃḍlu 'half pennies' NI 2 Kandukur 18.26,1408
āṃḍlanu 'wives (acc.)' NI 2 Ongole 30.24,1482
yēṃḍlu 'years' SII 10:777.3, 17th century
vāṃḍlu 'they (hum.)' NI 2 Kandukur 41.53,1683;
NI 2 Kandukur 52.11,1635

The practice of writing a geminate consonant after [ṃ] to indicate its value as full-nasal might have derived from the fact that [ṃ] retains its full value before a consonant cluster even after long vowel. This can be described in the following rules.

(a) //V̄ṃ// → /V̄^{n}/ ___ C
(b) //V̄ṃ// → /V̄N/ ___ C + C
(c) /C/ → //CC// / ṃ ___ (where ṃ   N)

The same practice is found in Sanskrit loanwords, although there is no half-nasal in Sanskrit. But the practice is not as frequent as it is in the native words.

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nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443
siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as	
siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) */ṃs/—//v(V)s, ṃsy, sy//*

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of *//m//* or *//v//* (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically */m/* in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v/h/s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced ($v^n h v^n$) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prāsa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm/ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

[18]*Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

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Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

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There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// / CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION OF INSCRIPTIONAL ORTHOGRAPHY

2.0. A scientific study of a writing system deals with the distributional regularities of graphic signs and tries to establish an exact link between these and the linguistic units that they represent. The writing may represent sounds, phonemes, phonemic sequences, morphophonemes, syllables or words. The writing may also provide visible proof of sound change and display phonological variation. Again, there are cases of pure graphic variation of certain sounds which may be confused with phonological variation. Particularly, writing in the inscriptions is often influenced by the actual pronunciation in the native dialect of the scribes and different scribes could use slightly different spellings. In inscriptional writings, there is a greater graphic variation as compared to modern Telugu orthography. Traditional grammarians have formulated certain rules to minimise such variation, as will be discussed in the following sections. In the present chapter an attempt is made to provide criteria for the linguistic interpretation of the orthography of inscriptions during the period under study. As the Telugu syllabary of any period is near phonemic and the forms are represented with broad phonetic accuracy, the phonetic values of its symbols are clearly indicated by the writing of the scribes.

The principles for the interpretation of the inscriptional writing can be brought under the following headings :

1. Orthographic abbreviation
2. Systematic spelling conventions; phonemic representation
3. Aberrant spelling conventions: phonemic interpretation
4. Spelling variation: phonemic interpretation
5. Inverse spellings
6. Hyper-correct forms
7. Transfer of native pattern of spelling variation to non-native lexical items
8. Obvious misspellings

2.1. ORTHOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATION

There are certain writing habits found in the Telugu inscriptions, which cannot be said to represent actual pronunciation of contemporary

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Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

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tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇāyakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552

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(kriṣṇamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamaṃṅāru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv/ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN//* = */NN/*.

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Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

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saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

peṭni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ϝ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ϝ and reading them as sequences of ϝCC (where (ϝ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ϝ)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuṭa) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El [illegible] where it is only a single consonant.

murttazā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

1.3. Several scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma (1924), K. Ramakrishniah (1929), C. Narayana Rao (1937) and G.J. Somayaji (1947) have made attempts at a historical study of the early Telugu inscriptions. In his *Historical Grammar of Telugu*, K. Mahadeva Sastry (1969 based on his 1962 Ph.D. dissertation) has made a study of the history of the Telugu language with special reference to early Telugu from 200 B.C. to 1100 A.D.. B. Radhakrishna (1964) has made a systematic study of the historical and comparative aspects of the language of early Telugu inscriptions upto the 11th century. M. Kandappa Chetty (1966) collected about 1800 inscriptions belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries A.D. and studied the historical aspects of the language of these centuries. Though he has gathered enormous data from the inscriptions, he has left many of the phonological problems unsolved. He has not separated the phonology of the native words from that of the unassimilated loanwords. The present work is a continuation of the study of inscriptional Telugu from the 15th century to 1890 A.D., the date of the last available inscriptional record. A total of 992 published inscriptions are available for this period, and these have been thoroughly studied in terms of historical evolution of the language.

1.4. Formerly, scholars (K. Mahadeva Sastry: 4-5) have divided the history of the Telugu language into three periods: (1) Pre-Nannaya period or Old Telugu, (2) Post-Nannaya period or Middle Telugu, and (3) Modern period or New Telugu. Recently, Bh. Krishnamurti (1974, §§ 16.5-7) has set up four stages in the history of the Telugu language, taking major linguistic changes into account. According to him, there are four stages in the history of the Telugu language (1974: 449-466) :

Stage I : 200 A.D. to 700 A.D.
Stage II : 700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Stage III : 1200 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Stage IV : 1600 A.D. to 1900 A.D.

Stage I :During the first stage, i.e. from 200 A.D. to 700 A.D., the main source for the study of Telugu language is vocabulary available in the Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions. No important changes in the native element can be found during this period.

Stage II: Most of the important phonological changes started and ran their full course during the second stage, i.e. 700-1200 A.D. For instance, *ẓ* changed to *ḍ*, although *ẓ* continued to appear in writing upto the 13th century. Change of *ẓ* to *r* in the initial consonant clusters also started during this stage, from the 8th century. The other important changes found during the period are: merger of *ṟ* and *r*, deretroflexion: *ṇ* > *n* and *ḷ* > *l*, change of *nṟ* to *ṇḍ*; loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters; merger of initial *ḍ* with *d* (from 11th

Telugu. There are cases of inverse spellings with *-ṇ-* for original *-n-* during this period (see § 2.5 (c)). However, all the cases with *-n-* of this period are preservations of earlier periods.

The following are the examples in which *-n-* is from oroginal **-ṇ-*:

kānika 'gift' NI 3 Ongole 85.10, 1428 (DED 1209)

yenimidi 'eight' SII 16:174.2.7, 1550 (DED 670)

gōne 'a pack-sack' SII 10:753.52, 1600 (DED 1835)

gōne must be reborrowing from Sanskrit, i.e. *goṇī*.

The following are the examples for original *-n-*:

venaka 'back' NI 3 Ongole 77.16, 1534 (DED 4518)

anuvu 'suitable' SII 4:936.8, 1531 (DED 1999)

nūne 'oil' SII 8:536.31, 1585 (DED 3081, 3104)

kōnēru 'a square tank with steps' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9, 1533 (DED 1834)

mānitimi '(we) gave up' SII 10:586.16, 1448 (DED 3943)

-m-

-m- is from PDr. **-m-*. During this period all instances of *-m-* are preservations of an earlier *-m-*. Examples:

gumi 'thick shrub besides the bed of the river' EI 4.46. 56, 1411 (DED 1449)

tama 'their' SII 10:572.6,1405 (DED 2582)

māmiḍi 'mango' SII 10:737.65,1526 (DED 3919, 3975)

mēmu 'we (excl.)' NI 2 Kandukur 48.8, 1650 (DED 4231)

nōmu 'a meritorious act' SII 10:737.104, 1526 (DED 3147)

tūmu 'sluice' NI 3 Rapur 60.25, 1612 (DED 2786)

-m- in *nōmu* and *tūmu* are suffixal and historically it is from **-mp-* (Radhakrishna § 2.119).

Intervocalically *-m-* has an allophone of nasalized bilabial continuant [ṽ] (see § 2.41 (f)) during this period. This alternation could be seen in the inscriptional Telugu from 12th century itself (Kandappa Chetty § 1.89).

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s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

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(kriṣṇamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamaṃṅaru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

samrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(samrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv/ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN// = /NN/*.

(*iii*) Forms ending in -*e* (-*CCe*/-*Ce*)

NORTH : gorrelu 'sheep' SII 6:656.16,1417
pallem 'a platter' SII 6:94.3,1516

CENTRAL : kōde 'young' SII 4:659.8, 1485
pallem 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518

SOUTH : ginne 'dish' TTDES 3:49.4, 1512
tēne 'honey' SII 16:50.5,1513
pallem 'a platter' SII 10:758.10, 1658
muttēlu 'pearls' TTDES 3:32.2, 1512

(*iv*) Forms ending in -*a*

NORTH : vīsalu 'a kind of measure of grain (pl.)' SII 6:1040.4, 1417

CENTRAL : pallam 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518

SOUTH : gōna 'a sack' SII 10:753.6, 1600
nūna 'oil' SII 16:328.6, 1642

Since all the graphic variants -*ya*, -*e* and -*a* are found in the inscriptions belonging to all the regions, it can be interpreted that the spelling variation in the above cases represents a single sound i.e. a lower mind front vowel [ɛ], as it is pronounced in Modern Telugu.[7] It can be supported by the fact that, in one case, all the variants occur in the same inscription, *e.g.*, *palyālu*/*pallem pallam*/*palālu* '(a) platter (s)' SII 4:981.6, 1518

However, in some cases -*ya* forms might be due to the continuation of an older spelling and the -*e* forms represented the actual change i.e. *iya*>*ya*>*e* in contemporary Telugu.

The sequences of chronological developments in the above cases can be stated by the following rules.

Phonemic rules

1. $i > \phi / \neq \ldots\ldots C$—*ya*
2. *Cya*>a. *CCe*/*V*—(where *C* is not *ḍ*)
   b. $Ce/\bar{V}$—

Phonetic rule

3. $e \rightarrow \varepsilon / _(mu/m) \neq$

older forms : goriya nūniya pallyam[8]

[7]Kandappa Chetty (§1.72-74 & 6.4) thinks that the variation-*ya*, -*e* and -*a* was dialectal. According to him -*ya* and -*a* ending forms occurred only in the Northern dialect, the -*e* ending forms in the Central dialect and the -*u*/-ϕ forms in Southern dialect. Among these -*iya*> -*u*/-ϕ is not phonologically motivated. Further, he failed to notice the -*ya* ending forms occurring also in the Southern dialect during the 13th century itself.

[8]Etymologically *Pallem* is not an-*iya* ending form, but an -*aya* ending form (*DED* 3308).

Intervocalically the occurrence of clusters homorganic nasal+ stop represents an inherited trait; the other clusters found in the material are due to the loss of short vowels between consonants. Certain consonant groups are found across morpheme boundaries (§3.22.9).

Among the consonants only *m* and y occur in the final position.

In the root syllable all the vowels long and short occur. Only short vowels except /*o*/ can occur in the non-root syllable. Certain place names and names of certain trees and fruits, however, have a long vowel in the second syllable, e.g. *keṃbāka* 'place name' SII 16:50.6-12,1513; *voṃgōlu* 'place name' NI 3 Ongole 83.15, 1415; *kōnēru* 'a square tank' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9,1533; *mārēḷu, nērēḷu* 'both names of fruits' SII 10:737.44, 1525. These can be identified as compound words.

Geminated consonants occur only after a short vowel of the root syllable; gemination after a long vowel always results from sandhi across morph boundaries, e.g.*pāḷḷu* (pāl+ ḷu) 'shares' SII 10:753.37,1600.

e occurs in final position only in disyllabic words. Tri-syllabic words with final *e* alternating with *a* have *i* in the second syllable (§ 2.45 (e)).

In trisyllabic words, if the final vowel is unrounded, the preceding vowel is also unrounded; if the final vowel is nonfront (except o), the preceding vowel is also nonfront (Rama Rao 1974 § 13.5 (13)). The following sequences are found in the material.

CVCiCi: kaṇiti 'lump' SII 6:1040.3, 1417
CVCiCa: kāṭika 'eyesalve' NI 3 Ongole 104.12, 1424
CVCaCi: kōmaṭi 'vaisya' SII 10:770.13, 1691
CVCaCa: kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514
CVCuCu: ceruvu 'tank' SII 10:755.13,1604
CVCuCa: kuḍuka 'a kind of pot' SII 4:1344.9,1470
CVCaCu: modavu 'milch cow' SII 10:588.7, 15th century

In the words with a penultimate *m*, if the preceding vowel is *i* or *u* the final vowel is the same; e.g. *naḍ*(*i*) *mi* 'middle' SII 10:773.9,1697; *naḍumu* 'an intervening space' SII 5:25.11,1502. If the preceding vowel is *a* the final vowel may be *u* or *a* e.g. *veccamu* 'provision' SII 10:770.14,1691, *calama* 'fountain' NI 2 Nellore 117.10,1572. If the preceding vowel is *e* the final vowel is always *u* e.g. *palyamu* 'platter' SII 10:588.8, 15th century.

In the case of verb roots *e* does not occur in the non-initial syllable. Medial *i* occurs in trisyllabic roots only before y, e.g. *teḷiya* 'to know' SII 8:495.9, 1585.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. ABERRANT SPELLING CONVENTIONS : PHONEMIC INTERPRETATION

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// / CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443
siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as	
siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) /*ṃs*/—//*v*(*V*)*s*, *ṃsy*, *sy*//

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of //*m*// or //*v*// (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically /*m*/ in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v*/*h*/*s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced ($v^n h v^n$) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prasa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm*/*ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

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[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

(*g*) *h* for *ϕ*

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

haḷiyarāmarājayyavāri 'name of a dynasty+name of a king' SII 16:231. 9,1558
hamaranāyaṃkaranaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhiga (for ...... sthayigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for $\overline{V}$

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for longthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for margana) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujari) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyanaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṝṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

4. Clusters arising out of external sandhi between two words. This can be divided into two types : (i) clusters due to elision of the final vowel of the first word, and (ii) *NB* clusters as a result of assimilation of word final -*N* with initial consonant of the following word (see chapter IV on sandhi), e.g.

(i) kōmaṭreḍḍi(←kōmaṭi+reḍḍi) 'n.pr.' NI 2 Kandukur 43.4-5, 1400-1
komṃḍrāju(←komṃḍa+rāju) 'n.pr'. SII 4:709.132,1558

(ii) gōvuṃjaṃppina(←gōvuN+caṃpina) 'cow (acc.)+that killed' SII 10:588.24, 1448

The consonant clusters in the following cases may be taken as tow-consonant clusters wih intrusive *ḍ*.

-ṇr- : taṃḍri (<*tan-ṯi) 'father' SII 10:583.12, 1429 (DED 2494)

paṃḍreṃḍu (<*pan+reṃḍu) 'twelve' NI 3 Udayagiri 22.7,1552, (DED 3236)

-ṇl- : iṃḍla (<*il+ḷu) 'houses (obl.)' SII 6:770.8, 1403 (DED 420)

āmḍlanu(<*āḷ+ḷu) 'wives (acc.)' SII 16:246.7, 1560 (DED 342)

(see § 5.32.1 (i) for the descriptive study of the last two plural forms).

Examples of three consonant clusters *ṃḍ* + *l*- arising from internal sandhi, particularly in plural formation (see § 5.32.1 (e)).

ēṃḍlu 'years' SII 5:37.45-46, 1494

paṃḍlu 'fruits' SII 6:844.10, 1472

guṃḍlu 'sphericals used in the ornaments' TTDES 3:76.9, 1515

vāṃḍlu 'they' NI 2 Kandukur 41.53,1683

In the above words, historically, the nasal is lost in the singular forms after a long vowel.

-*ṃdr*- in *calivaṃd* (*i*) *ri* 'thirst resort for travellers'SII 4:789.148, 1518 is the result of syncopation.

3.23. Final consonants. Only consonants -*m* and -*y* can occur word finally.

-m

biyyaṃ 'rice' SII 8:536 25, 1585 (DED 4485)

tavvaṭaṃ 'digging' SII 7:845.7, 1632 (DED 2547)

paḷḷeṃ 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518 (DED 3308)

Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

Intervocalically the occurrence of clusters homorganic nasal+stop represents an inherited trait; the other clusters found in the material are due to the loss of short vowels between consonants. Certain consonant groups are found across morpheme boundaries (§3.22.9).

Among the consonants only *m* and y occur in the final position.

In the root syllable all the vowels long and short occur. Only short vowels except /*o*/ can occur in the non-root syllable. Certain place names and names of certain trees and fruits, however, have a long vowel in the second syllable, e.g. *kem̥bāka* 'place name' SII 16:50.6-12,1513; *vom̥gōlu* 'place name' NI 3 Ongole 83.15, 1415; *kōnēru* 'a square tank' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9,1533; *mārēḷu, nērēḷu* 'both names of fruits' SII 10:737.44, 1525. These can be identified as compound words.

Geminated consonants occur only after a short vowel of the root syllable; gemination after a long vowel always results from sandhi across morph boundaries, e.g.*pāḷḷu* (pāl+ḷu) 'shares' SII 10:753.37,1600.

e occurs in final position only in disyllabic words. Tri-syllabic words with final *e* alternating with *a* have *i* in the second syllable (§ 2.45 (e)).

In trisyllabic words, if the final vowel is unrounded, the preceding vowel is also unrounded; if the final vowel is nonfront (except o), the preceding vowel is also nonfront (Rama Rao 1974 § 13.5 (13)). The following sequences are found in the material.

CVCiCi: kaṇiti 'lump' SII 6:1040.3, 1417
CVCiCa: kāṭika 'eyesalve' NI 3 Ongole 104.12, 1424
CVCaCi: kōmaṭi 'vaisya' SII 10:770.13, 1691
CVCaCa: kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514
CVCuCu: ceruvu 'tank' SII 10:755.13,1604
CVCuCa: kuḍuka 'a kind of pot' SII 4:1344.9,1470
CVCaCu: modavu 'milch cow' SII 10:588.7, 15th century

In the words with a penultimate *m*, if the preceding vowel is *i* or *u* the final vowel is the same; e.g. *naḍ*(*i*) *mi* 'middle' SII 10:773.9,1697; *naḍumu* 'an intervening space' SII 5:25.11,1502. If the preceding vowel is *a* the final vowel may be *u* or *a* e.g. *veccamu* 'provision' SII 10:770.14,1691, *calama* 'fountain' NI 2 Nellore 117.10,1572. If the preceding vowel is *e* the final vowel is always *u* e.g. *palyamu* 'platter' SII 10:588.8, 15th century.

In the case of verb roots *e* does not occur in the non-initial syllable. Medial *i* occurs in trisyllabic roots only before y, e.g. *teḷiya* 'to know' SII 8:495.9, 1585.

-a-

amgaḍi 'market' SII 4:248.5, 1545 (DED 37)

kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514 (DED 961)

a in the second syllable of *venaka* (<*venuka*) 'back' NI 3 Ongole 77.16, 1534 and *kanaka* (<*kanuka*) 'because' SII 5:874.10, 1620 is due to the regressive vowel assimilation.

-i-

majjiga 'buttermilk' SII 16:201. 16, 1555 (DED 3871)

aṭika 'a small earthern vessel with a wide mouth' SII 6:829.9, 1412 (DEDS 16)

-u-

nālugu 'four SII 5:5.8, 1404 (DED 3024)

koḍuku 'son' 10:579.10, 1413 (DED 1787)

-e-

pallem 'platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518 (DED 3308)

3.26. VOWELS IN THE FINAL POSITION. Except *o* and long vowels, all other vowels occur in the final position, which are the preservations of the same of the earlier periods.

-a

kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514 (DED 961)

vāka 'field where there is percolation of water' NI 2 Kandukur 48.29, 1650 (DEDS 4370)

-i

tommidi 'nine' SII 4:789.220, 1518 (DED 2910)

vēyi 'thousand' SII 16:328.6, 1642

-u

tappu 'wrong 'NI 3 Rapur 78.19, 1401 (DED 2498)

kolvu 'Government' SII 10:748.28,1577 (DED 1788)

pāṭu 'manner' NI 2 Kandukur 20.29, 1640 (DED 3190)

-e

In all its occurrences in disyllabic words, final *-e* is the result of the change **-iya*>*-e*. **-iya*>*-e* is first attested in inscriptions from Nalgonda

ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalaṃbi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j*/*jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramaṃdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI.* 2-37) and other later poets.

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may be a cover symbol for homorganic nasal as it is before stops. This practice is infrequent in later centuries and is abandoned in modern Telugu writing.

gomna (= gonna) 'that taken' SII 5:149.9,1402
guṃḍakaṃma (= guṃḍakamma) 'name of a river' SII 10:586.9,1448
aṃnayya (= annayya) 'elder brother' SII 4:271.7,1494
ciṃnamādēvaṃma (= cinnamādēvamma) 'n.pr.f.' SII 8:495.21,1516
viṃnapaṃ (= vinnapaṃ) 'request' SII 7:569.22,1580

2.24. Use of digraphs

(a) //cy// = /ć/, //sy// = /ś/

There is a practice of using symbol for y to indicate the palatal quality of the preceding consonant, though it is rarely found in the inscriptions.

ācyaṃdrārkasthāyigā 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 10:771. 14, 1692
syālivāhana 'name of an era' SII 16:193.2,1554
syūdrulu 'people belonging to the fourth caste' SII 10:771.15,1692

(b) //ts// = /c/

There is also a practice, though rare, of writing the digraph //ts// for the alveolar variant of /c/ before back vowels.

tsaṃpina 'that murdered' NI 3 Podili 4.18,1514
tsāṃtupaḍi 'sandal paste' SII 16:299.35 & 41,1586.
vitsu kattulu 'drawn swords' R.V. 1933.87.5, 16th century

The above examples attest to the fact that /c/ had two allophones, alveolar and palatal, before back and front vowels, respectively.

2.25 //ṃCC// = /NC/, //VṃC// = /V^{n}C/

The practice of writing consonants geminated following anuswāra [ṃ] to indicate the pronunciation of a full nasal, which is said to have started originally during the 9th/10th centuries (Radhakrishna: § 1.23), continues during the period under study. Many scholars have said that the anuswāra [ṃ] written as [o] preceding a nongeminate stop was always a 'half-nasal' i.e. nasalization of preceding vowel and that preceding a geminate stop was always pronounced as a 'full-nasal' (Narayana Rao: 190 & 210; Prabhakara Sastry: 93-99; Ramachandra: 137-42). Though there are certain exceptions to this practice during the period under study, it has become much more consistent from the 17th century onwards. The anuswāra, when its value is a full-nasal, is a cover symbol for homor-

Rule 1	goṟya	nūnya	paḷyaṃ
Rule 2	goṟṟe	nūne	paḷḷeṃ
Rule 3	goṟṟɛ	nūnɛ	paḷḷɛṃ[9]

Orthographically this (ɛ) is represented by various spellings, i.e. *-e*, *-ya* and *-a*. Even in the following sandhi forms spelling variation *ya/e* might have represented a lower mid front vowel (ɛ), which results from sandhi of *i+a*.[10] Both of the following examples have the structure, the name of a women+a female suffix.

kāmākṣyamma(←kāmākṣi+amma) SII 7:561.9, 1565
anitallemaṃgāru(←anitalli+amaṃgāru) SII 5:109.8, 1423

In the following cases of internal sandhi also the graphic variation *ya/e* might have stood for a lower mid front vowel

(*i*) *a+e*→? (phonetically [ɛ])

aḍḍa+e(ṃ)ḍu 'adda-ful measure'
aḍyaḍu SII 5:1239.8, 1418
aḍḍeḍu SII 1248.22, 1471

(*ii*) *i+e*→?(phonetically[ɛ])

puṭṭi+e(ṃ)ḍu 'puttiful measure'
puṭyaṃḍu SII 6:1024.6, 1416
puṭyaḍu SII 4:800.18, 1513
puṭṭeṃḍu NI 2 Kandukur 68.23, 1406

puṭṭeḍu SII 5:44.11, 1458

yē in the following instance might have represented the lower mid front vowel.

myēraku 'upto' NI 3 Rapur 30.8, 1638

(f) *m/v*

māmiḍi/māviḍi 'mango' SII 5:1228.7, 1503; NI 2 Kandukur 46.37, 1682
māvasaṃ (,māṃsaṃ) 'meat' SII 16:207.10-11, 1556

Here, *v* appears to represent an allophone of *m*, i.e. (*v*ⁿ) in the intervocalic position and before *s* as it is in Modern Telugu.

[9]In Modern Telugu the plurals of *paḷḷeṃ* [*paḷḷɛṃ*], *kaḷḷeṃ* [*kaḷḷɛṃ*] are *paḷḷæ lu* and *kaḷḷælu*, respectively.

[10]B. Radhakrishna (1964:375) interpreted the representation like *mañcyaṇa* (*mañci*+*aṇa* EI 17:534-337.11,610 as the wrong application of the Sanskrit Sandhi rule i.e. *i*→*y*/ __a vowel other than *i*.

(*g*) *h* for ϕ

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

haḷiyarāmarājayyavāri 'name of a dynasty+name of a king' SII 16:231.9,1558
hamaranāyaṃkaraṇaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhigā (for ...... sthāyigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for $\bar{V}$

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for longthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for mārgāna) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujāri) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyānaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṝṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

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-gbh-: digbhāgaṃbu 'side' SII 10:573.11, 1405

-gy- : āyurārōgya 'life and health' SII 5:1180.6, 1402

-gr- : pradhānāgragaṇyulu 'the prime minister' SII 4:699.5, 1546

-gv- : digvijayayātra 'the military campaign to conquer the kings of the eight corners' TTDES 3:76.2.2, 1515

-nk- : kaiṃkarya 'service to deity' SII 8:536.2.5, 1585

-ng- : triliṃgga 'a country SII 10:750.2, 1590

-cy- : acyutarāyamahārāya 'name of a king' TTDES 4:20.3, 1532

-jñ- : ājña 'order' NI 2 Ongole 32.20-21, 1633

-jy- : rājyaṃ 'empire' SII 5:874.7, 1620

-jr- : vajrālu 'diamonds' TTDES 3:32.2.3, 1512

-nc- : paṃcaparvālaku 'five festivals' SII 5:874.13, 1620

-nj- : puṣpāṃjali 'an anjali of flowers for presentation of deity' SII 6:118.21, 1416

-ṭk- : ṣaṭkarmmaniratulu 'the six acts enjoyed on Brahmins collectively' SII 4:271.5, 1494

-ṇṭh-: grāmakaṃṭhālu 'pasture belonging to the village' SII 10:755.13, 1604

-ṇy- : pradhānāgragaṇyulu 'the prime minister' SII 4:699.5, 1546

-tk- : hṛtkamala 'the heart like lotus' SII 10:737.8-9, 1526

-tn- : navaratna 'nine diamonds' SII 6:248.34, 1515

-tp- : satputṛṃḍu 'good son' SII 10:573.47, 1405

-tph-: satphalamulu 'good results' SII 10:589.16, 15th century

-ty- : nityōtsavālu 'the daily worship of the deity' SII 4:248.6,1545

-tr- : ēkachatramai 'one royal power' SII 4:248.4, 1545

-ts- : nityōtasavālu 'the daily worship of the deity' SII 6:248.6, 1545

-thv-: pṛthvi 'the earth' SII 10:758.6, 1658

-dg- : maudgalyagōtruṃḍu 'belonging to the lineage of Mudgala' SII 5:1165.4, 1443

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

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century owing to political and cultural contacts with the Moghals, the Bahamanies and other muslim rulers. Such lexical borrowing is much more extensive from the 16th century onwards i.e. during the rule of the Telugu country by the Kutub Shahis. Śrinatha, a great Telugu poet (1360-1450 A.D.), described Annayamantri, to whom he dedicated his poetic work *Bhīmakhanḍamu*, as a scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turushka languages (Modekurti Satyanarayana 1959: 65-72). These languages apparently enjoyed popularity and prestige in the Telugu country by the beginning of the 15th century. But it is very difficult to say how the loanwords were pronounced since they were recorded with innumerable variations in the inscriptions. Loanwords from English also could be seen from 1802 A.D. onwards. On the whole, we can say that the Telugu language has taken its present shape during the period under study.

1.7. Though the inscriptions collected for the present study are distributed throughout the Telugu country, the largest number of them belong to the Coastal and the Rayalasima areas and only a few inscriptions belong to the Telangana region[1] Some regional isoglosses could be set up with the help of the material, but since only a few inscriptions are available from the Telangana region, it has not been possible to make a comprehensive dialect study of the language of the inscriptions; only a fragmentary treatment is given wherever possible. Moreover, many of the changes which are said to have originated in particular region during the earlier centuries (M. Kandappa Chetty: 432-445) are found to have spread throughout the Telugu country during the period under study.

1.8. I have completely depended upon the published texts, edited by eminent scholars in epigraphy No attempt has been made to research the exact dates of undated inscriptions beyond identifying the century to which they belong, because it does not affect our conclusions in any way. In addition to the inscriptions, *Rāyavācakamu* a prose work written by an agent of Sri Viswanatha Nayaka of Madhura (ca. 1520 A.D.) is also included in our data for the study of the Telugu language of the 16th century. Telugu script took a distinct shape and got separated from the earlier Telugu-Kannada script known as the Bhattiprolu variety from 1300 A.D. onwards (Burnell A.C. 1878:25). I have tried to interpret inscriptional orthography thoroughly and I have also tried to treat orthographical errors separately in the following chapter. I have completely left out of my analysis forms known to be clearly printing mistakes in the published texts. Century-wise and region-wise distribution of the inscriptions studied is given in a map below. A complete list of inscriptions with sources used as data is given as Appendix I to this volume.

[1]Four main regional dialects have been identified in Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti 1962). (1) North : Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. (2) Central : East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts, (3) South : Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Ananthapur and Chittoor (including the newly formed Prakasham district), and (4) Telangana or Western : Mahabubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Kareemnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts.

Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

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13. *t* (*s*) *y* > *cc*

matsyavaṃśa > maccavaṃśa 'a dynasty' SII 5:1174.3, 1422

matsyadeśa > maccadēśa 'a country ruled by matsya dynasty' SII 10:776.4, 1736

nitya > nicca 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century

14. *śr* > *cc*

aśraddha > acceddha 'neglect' SII 10:765.40, 1678

15. *jñ* >*gn*

padavākyapramāṇajñulaina > padavākyapramanagnulaina 'those who know the subjects like grammar, etc.' SII 16:179.10-11,1551

sarvajñakriyāśaktipurānaku > sarvagnakriyāsaktipurānaku 'name of a town (directive)' SII 6:212.10-11, 1556

16. *sn* > *st* (see § 2.86 (6) and footnote therein)

snānaṃ > stānaṃ 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

snānaṃ > stnānaṃ > stānaṃ may be the derivational history in the above change as the change of *n* > *t* is not natural. This process can be seen from 12th century itself (Kandappa Chetty § 1.111),

17. *d* > *j* /_*y*

sadya > sajua 'immediate' SII 6:829.8, 1422

vidyānagaramu > vijyānagaramu 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31-8-9, 1558

18. *c* + *y* > CC*e*

māṇikyaṃ > māṇikkeṃ 'a ruby' TTDES 3:32.3, 1512

hatya > hatte 'murder' SII 10:745.59, 1530

19. *u* > *o* /_Ca

kumāruḍu > komāruḍu 'son' SII 10:736.4, 1511

mukhaṃ > mokhaṃ 'face' NI 3 Rapur 3.13, 1678

20. *a* > *i*/ *y*_

āyattaṃ > āyittaṃ 'ready' SII 5:25.11, 1502

vāyavya > vāyivya 'the north-west' SII 10:737.65, 1526

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. ABERRANT SPELLING CONVENTIONS : PHONEMIC INTERPRETATION

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// < CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// < /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

-gbh-: digbhāgaṃbu 'side' SII 10:573.11, 1405

-gy- : āyurārōgya 'life and health' SII 5:1180.6, 1402

-gr- : pradhānāgragaṇyulu 'the prime minister' SII 4:699.5, 1546

-gv- : digvijayayātra 'the military campaign to conquer the kings of the eight corners' TTDES 3:76.2.2, 1515

-nk- : kaiṃkarya 'service to deity' SII 8:536.2.5, 1585

-ng- : triliṃgga 'a country SII 10:750.2, 1590

-cy- : acyutarāyamahārāya 'name of a king' TTDES 4:20.3, 1532

-jñ- : ājña 'order' NI 2 Ongole 32.20-21, 1633

-jy- : rājyaṃ 'empire' SII 5:874.7, 1620

-jr- : vajrālu 'diamonds' TTDES 3:32.2.3, 1512

-nc- : paṃcaparvālaku 'five festivals' SII 5:874.13, 1620

-nj- : puṣpāṃjali 'an anjali of flowers for presentation of deity' SII 6:118.21, 1416

-ṭk- : ṣaṭkarmmaniratulu 'the six acts enjoyed on Brahmins collectively' SII 4:271.5, 1494

-ṇṭh-: grāmakaṃṭhālu 'pasture belonging to the village' SII 10:755.13, 1604

-ṇy- : pradhānāgragaṇyulu 'the prime minister' SII 4:699.5, 1546

-tk- : hṛtkamala 'the heart like lotus' SII 10:737.8-9, 1526

-tn- : navaratna 'nine diamonds' SII 6:248.34, 1515

-tp- : satputṛṃḍu 'good son' SII 10:573.47, 1405

-tph-: satphalamulu 'good results' SII 10:589.16, 15th century

-ty- : nityōtsavālu 'the daily worship of the deity' SII 4:248.6,1545

-tr- : ēkachatramai 'one royal power' SII 4:248.4, 1545

-ts- : nityōtasavālu 'the daily worship of the deity' SII 6:248.6, 1545

-thv-: pṛthvi 'the earth' SII 10:758.6, 1658

-dg- : maudgalyagōtruṃḍu 'belonging to the lineage of Mudgala' SII 5:1165.4, 1443

Telugu. There are cases of inverse spellings with -ṇ- for original -n- during this period (see § 2.5 (c)). However, all the cases with -n- of this period are preservations of earlier periods.

The following are the examples in which -n- is from oroginal *-ṇ-:

kānika 'gift' NI 3 Ongole 85.10, 1428 (DED 1209)

yenimidi 'eight' SII 16:174.2.7, 1550 (DED 670)

gōne 'a pack-sack' SII 10:753.52, 1600 (DED 1835)

gōne must be reborrowing from Sanskrit, i.e. *goṇī*.

The following are the examples for original -n-:

venaka 'back' NI 3 Ongole 77.16, 1534 (DED 4518)

anuvu 'suitable' SII 4:936.8, 1531 (DED 1999)

nūne 'oil' SII 8:536.31, 1585 (DED 3081, 3104)

kōnēru 'a square tank with steps' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9, 1533 (DED 1834)

mānitimi '(we) gave up' SII 10:586.16, 1448 (DED 3943)

-m-

-*m*- is from PDr. *-*m*-. During this period all instances of -*m*- are preservations of an earlier -*m*-. Examples:

gumi 'thick shrub besides the bed of the river' EI 4.46. 56, 1411 (DED 1449)

tama 'their' SII 10:572.6,1405 (DED 2582)

māmiḍi 'mango' SII 10:737.65,1526 (DED 3919, 3975)

mēmu 'we (excl.)' NI 2 Kandukur 48.8, 1650 (DED 4231)

nōmu 'a meritorious act' SII 10:737.104, 1526 (DED 3147)

tūmu 'sluice' NI 3 Rapur 60.25, 1612 (DED 2786)

-*m*- in *nōmu* and *tūmu* are suffixal and historically it is from *-*mp*- (Radhakrishna § 2.119).

Intervocalically -*m*- has an allophone of nasalized bilabial continuant [ṽ] (see § 2.41 (f)) during this period. This alternation could be seen in the inscriptional Telugu from 12th century itself (Kandappa Chetty § 1.89).

13. *t (s) y > cc*

matsyavaṃśa > maccavaṃśa 'a dynasty' SII 5:1174.3, 1422

matsyadeśa > maccadēśa 'a country ruled by matsya dynasty' SII 10:776.4, 1736

nitya > nicca 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century

14. *śr > cc*

aśraddha > acceddha 'neglect' SII 10:765.40, 1678

15. *jñ >gn*

padavākyapramāṇajñulaina > padavākyapramanagnulaina 'those who know the subjects like grammar, etc.' SII 16:179.10-11,1551

sarvajñakriyāśaktipurānaku > sarvagnakriyāsaktipurānaku 'name of a town (directive)' SII 6:212.10-11, 1556

16. *sn > st* (see § 2.86 (6) and footnote therein)

snānaṃ > stānaṃ 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

snānaṃ > stnānaṃ > stānaṃ may be the derivational history in the above change as the change of *n > t* is not natural. This process can be seen from 12th century itself (Kandappa Chetty § 1.111),

17. *d > j /_y*

sadya > sajua 'immediate' SII 6:829.8, 1422

vidyānagaramu > vijyānagaramu 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31-8-9, 1558

18. *c + y >* CC*e*

māṇikyaṃ > māṇikkeṃ 'a ruby' TTDES 3:32.3, 1512

hatya > hatte 'murder' SII 10:745.59, 1530

19. *u > o /_*Ca

kumāruḍu > komāruḍu 'son' SII 10:736.4, 1511

mukhaṃ > mokhaṃ 'face' NI 3 Rapur 3.13, 1678

20. *a > i/ y_*

āyattaṃ > āyittaṃ 'ready' SII 5:25.11, 1502

vāyavya > vāyivya 'the north-west' SII 10:737.65, 1526

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443

siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as

siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) /*ṃs*/—//*v*(*V*)*s*, *ṃsy*, *sy*//

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of //*m*// or //*v*// (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically /*m*/ in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v*/*h*/*s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced ($v^{n}hv^{n}$) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prāsa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm*/*ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

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[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

(*iii*) Forms ending in -*e* (-*CCe*/-*Ce*)

NORTH : gor̤elu 'sheep' SII 6:656.16,1417
pal̤lem̥ 'a platter' SII 6:94.3,1516

CENTRAL : kōde 'young' SII 4:659.8, 1485
pal̤lem̥ 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518

SOUTH : ginne 'dish' TTDES 3:49.4, 1512
tēne 'honey' SII 16:50.5,1513
pal̤lem̥ 'a platter' SII 10:758.10, 1658
muttēlu 'pearls' TTDES 3:32.2, 1512

(*iv*) Forms ending in -*a*

NORTH : vīsalu 'a kind of measure of grain (pl.)' SII 6:1040.4, 1417

CENTRAL : pal̤lam̥ 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518

SOUTH : gōna 'a sack' SII 10:753.6, 1600
nūna 'oil' SII 16:328.6, 1642

Since all the graphic variants -*ya*, -*e* and -*a* are found in the inscriptions belonging to all the regions, it can be interpreted that the spelling variation in the above cases represents a single sound i.e. a lower mind front vowel [ɛ], as it is pronounced in Modern Telugu.[7] It can be supported by the fact that, in one case, all the variants occur in the same inscription, *e.g.*, *pal̤yālu*/*pal̤lem̥ pal̤lam̥*/*pal̤ālu* '(a) platter (s)' SII 4:981.6, 1518

However, in some cases -*ya* forms might be due to the continuation of an older spelling and the -*e* forms represented the actual change i.e. *iya*>*ya*>*e* in contemporary Telugu.

The sequences of chronological developments in the above cases can be stated by the following rules.

Phonemic rules

1. $i > \phi / \neq \ldots\ldots C$—*ya*
2. *Cya*>a. *CCe*/*V*—(where *C* is not *ḍ*)
   b. *Ce*/$\bar{V}$—

Phonetic rule

3. $e \rightarrow \varepsilon / _(mu/m)\neq$

older forms : gor̤iya nūniya pal̤lyam̥[8]

[7]Kandappa Chetty (§1.72-74 & 6.4) thinks that the variation-*ya*, -*e* and -*a* was dialectal. According to him -*ya* and -*a* ending forms occurred only in the Northern dialect, the -*e* ending forms in the Central dialect and the -*u*/-ϕ forms in Southern dialect. Among these -*iya*> -*u*/-ϕ is not phonologically motivated. Further, he failed to notice the -*ya* ending forms occurring also in the Southern dialect during the 13th century itself.

[8]Etymologically *Pal̤lem̥* is not an-*iya* ending form, but an -*aya* ending form (*DED* 3308).

century owing to political and cultural contacts with the Moghals, the Bahamanies and other muslim rulers. Such lexical borrowing is much more extensive from the 16th century onwards i.e. during the rule of the Telugu country by the Kutub Shahis. Śrinatha, a great Telugu poet (1360-1450 A.D.), described Annayamantri, to whom he dedicated his poetic work *Bhīmakhanḍamu*, as a scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turushka languages (Modekurti Satyanarayana 1959: 65-72). These languages apparently enjoyed popularity and prestige in the Telugu country by the beginning of the 15th century. But it is very difficult to say how the loanwords were pronounced since they were recorded with innumerable variations in the inscriptions. Loanwords from English also could be seen from 1802 A.D. onwards. On the whole, we can say that the Telugu language has taken its present shape during the period under study.

1.7. Though the inscriptions collected for the present study are distributed throughout the Telugu country, the largest number of them belong to the Coastal and the Rayalasima areas and only a few inscriptions belong to the Telangana region[1] Some regional isoglosses could be set up with the help of the material, but since only a few inscriptions are available from the Telangana region, it has not been possible to make a comprehensive dialect study of the language of the inscriptions; only a fragmentary treatment is given wherever possible. Moreover, many of the changes which are said to have originated in particular region during the earlier centuries (M. Kandappa Chetty: 432-445) are found to have spread throughout the Telugu country during the period under study.

1.8. I have completely depended upon the published texts, edited by eminent scholars in epigraphy No attempt has been made to research the exact dates of undated inscriptions beyond identifying the century to which they belong, because it does not affect our conclusions in any way. In addition to the inscriptions, *Rāyavācakamu* a prose work written by an agent of Sri Viswanatha Nayaka of Madhura (ca. 1520 A.D.) is also included in our data for the study of the Telugu language of the 16th century. Telugu script took a distinct shape and got separated from the earlier Telugu-Kannada script known as the Bhattiprolu variety from 1300 A.D. onwards (Burnell A.C. 1878:25). I have tried to interpret inscriptional orthography thoroughly and I have also tried to treat orthographical errors separately in the following chapter. I have completely left out of my analysis forms known to be clearly printing mistakes in the published texts. Century-wise and region-wise distribution of the inscriptions studied is given in a map below. A complete list of inscriptions with sources used as data is given as Appendix I to this volume.

[1]Four main regional dialects have been identified in Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti 1962). (1) North : Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. (2) Central : East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts, (3) South : Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Ananthapur and Chittoor (including the newly formed Prakasham district), and (4) Telangana or Western : Mahabubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Kareemnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts.

13. *t* (*s*) *y* > *cc*

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16. *sn* > *st* (see § 2.86 (6) and footnote therein)

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hatya > hatte 'murder' SII 10:745.59, 1530

19. *u* > *o* /_Ca

kumāruḍu > komāruḍu 'son' SII 10:736.4, 1511

mukhaṃ > mokhaṃ 'face' NI 3 Rapur 3.13, 1678

20. *a* > *i*/ *y*_

āyattaṃ > āyittaṃ 'ready' SII 5:25.11, 1502

vāyavya > vāyivya 'the north-west' SII 10:737.65, 1526

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ౕ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ౕ and reading them as sequences of ౕCC (where (ౕ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ౕ)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El ౙ where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

It appears that the last two cases represent borrowings from literature. In the case of *tēru yekki* the absence of vowel elision can be explained as the consequence of introducing a pause at the word boundry.

There is a solitary instance where -v- is inserted as a glide.

tiruvābharṇālu (← tiru + ābharaṇālu) 'jewels of the idol'
TTDES 3:60.1.5, 1513; TTDES 3:60.5, 1513

The whole phrase might have been borrowed from Tamil since the source for many such expressions is Tamil.

4.13. There are a number of instances in which neither elision of the vowel nor insertion of a glide is attested in the material.

srigiri ayyaṃgāri 'proper noun and masculine honorific suffix (gen.)
SII 10:572.8-9, 1405

rāvi āku 'leaf of peepul tree' TTDES 3:60.5, 1513

kramamu eṭlannanu 'if one asks how the order is' NI 3 Rapur
18.11-12, 1622

These, again, represent a style of speech in which a pause can be inserted at the word boundary.

On the whole it appears that loss of *a*, *i*, and *u* has almost become regular during the period of study, though absence of sandhi is also possible as it is in Modern Telugu.

4.14. Vowel elision is obligatory before vowels which belong to bound morphs, or particles.

The suffix *-eḍu* is a bound morpheme which denotes quantity.

puṭṭeḍu (← puṭṭi + eḍu) SII 5:44.11, 1458

aḍḍeḍu (← aḍḍa + eḍu) SII 5:1248.22, 1471

tūmeḍu (← tūmu + eḍu) TI Misc. 9.7, 1557

COMBINATIONS WITH CLITICS (PARTICLES)

vaccināvā? (← vaccināvu + ā?) '(you) came + question marker'
SII 6:79.14, 1796

sūranaṃgārē (← sūranaṃgāru + ē) 'n.pr. + emphatic particle'
SII 5:36.26, 1422

century owing to political and cultural contacts with the Moghals, the Bahamanies and other muslim rulers. Such lexical borrowing is much more extensive from the 16th century onwards i.e. during the rule of the Telugu country by the Kutub Shahis. Śrinatha, a great Telugu poet (1360-1450 A.D.), described Annayamantri, to whom he dedicated his poetic work *Bhīmakhanḍamu*, as a scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turushka languages (Modekurti Satyanarayana 1959: 65-72). These languages apparently enjoyed popularity and prestige in the Telugu country by the beginning of the 15th century. But it is very difficult to say how the loanwords were pronounced since they were recorded with innumerable variations in the inscriptions. Loanwords from English also could be seen from 1802 A.D. onwards. On the whole, we can say that the Telugu language has taken its present shape during the period under study.

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CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION OF INSCRIPTIONAL ORTHOGRAPHY

2.0. A scientific study of a writing system deals with the distributional regularities of graphic signs and tries to establish an exact link between these and the linguistic units that they represent. The writing may represent sounds, phonemes, phonemic sequences, morphophonemes, syllables or words. The writing may also provide visible proof of sound change and display phonological variation. Again, there are cases of pure graphic variation of certain sounds which may be confused with phonological variation. Particularly, writing in the inscriptions is often influenced by the actual pronunciation in the native dialect of the scribes and different scribes could use slightly different spellings. In inscriptional writings, there is a greater graphic variation as compared to modern Telugu orthography. Traditional grammarians have formulated certain rules to minimise such variation, as will be discussed in the following sections. In the present chapter an attempt is made to provide criteria for the linguistic interpretation of the orthography of inscriptions during the period under study. As the Telugu syllabary of any period is near phonemic and the forms are represented with broad phonetic accuracy, the phonetic values of its symbols are clearly indicated by the writing of the scribes.

The principles for the interpretation of the inscriptional writing can be brought under the following headings :

1. Orthographic abbreviation
2. Systematic spelling conventions: phonemic representation
3. Aberrant spelling conventions: phonemic interpretation
4. Spelling variation: phonemic interpretation
5. Inverse spellings
6. Hyper-correct forms
7. Transfer of native pattern of spelling variation to non-native lexical items
8. Obvious misspellings

2.1. ORTHOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATION

There are certain writing habits found in the Telugu inscriptions, which cannot be said to represent actual pronunciation of contemporary

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century

tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇāyakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552

(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century

(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580

(kriṣṇamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamaṃṅāru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv/ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN//* = */NN/*.

mlēchulu (= mlēcchulu) 'foreigners' R.V.1933.61.12,16th century
prachanna (= pracchanna) 'disguised' R.V.1933.107.20,16th century

It appears from the above data that an aspirated geminate occurring in borrowed Sanskrit words was orthographically represented as a single aspirated consonant in Telugu, but phonetically realized as an unaspirated geminate. This has led to representing unaspirated geminate stops of native words as a single aspirated consonants in the orthography. This orthographic back formation can be symbolized as follows:—

	Phonemic (in Sanskrit)	*Orthographic* (in Telugu)	*Phonetic and phonemic* (in Telugu)
NON-NATIVE	/CCh/ ⟶	//CCh// ⤺ //Ch// ⟶	[CC] /CC/
		//CCh// ⤺ //Ch// ⟵	[CC] /CC/

The following is the example for the actual phonetic and phonemic representation of aspirated geminate in Sanskrit loans in Telugu i.e. CC for CCh.

sudda (for śuddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 10:591.1, 15th century

The above phenomenon of representing phonemic /CC/ as //CCh// ⤺ //Ch// has further been extended to orthographic //CC//, which occurs in post nasal and post r position.

varṣaṃbhulu 'years' SII 5:14.1,1410; SII 4:709.2,1558
suṃkhāla 'taxes' SII 10:745.9,1530; SII 10:739.14,16th century
samarphiṃcenu 'presented' NI 3 Ongole 68.16,1534

There are a few cases of hyper correct gemination in the inscriptions as the consequence of the above practice.

ddh for dh

ddharmma (for dharma) 'duty' NI 3 Podili 4.8,1514

We notice //CC// being written sporadically as ChC and ChCh also

lekhka (= lekka) 'account' SII 5:1175.9,1419
suṃkhkaṃ (= suṃkaṃ) 'tax' SII 10:745.9,1530
makhkha (= makka) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 80.38,1614

2.32. //VṃN $\begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Y \end{Bmatrix}$ // = /VN $\begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Y \end{Bmatrix}$ /

The practice of writing an anuswāra before geminated nasals and nasals + sonorant combinations is frequently found in the material. Though this practice was also noticed by the earlier scholars (Narayana Rao:211), no interpretation has been given in their works. The anuswāra in these environments might be indicative of nasalization of the vowel preceding a nasal. Though

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ౖ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ౖ and reading them as sequences of ౖCC (where (ౖ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ౖ)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El ౘ where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

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murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

Intervocalically the occurrence of clusters homorganic nasal+stop represents an inherited trait; the other clusters found in the material are due to the loss of short vowels between consonants. Certain consonant groups are found across morpheme boundaries (§3.22.9).

Among the consonants only *m* and y occur in the final position.

In the root syllable all the vowels long and short occur. Only short vowels except /*o*/ can occur in the non-root syllable. Certain place names and names of certain trees and fruits, however, have a long vowel in the second syllable, e.g. *kemॅbāka* 'place name' SII 16:50.6-12,1513; *vomgōlu* 'place name' NI 3 Ongole 83.15, 1415; *kōnēru* 'a square tank' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9,1533; *mārēḷu, nērēḷu* 'both names of fruits' SII 10:737.44, 1525. These can be identified as compound words.

Geminated consonants occur only after a short vowel of the root syllable; gemination after a long vowel always results from sandhi across morph boundaries, e.g.*pāḷḷu* (pāḷ+ḷu) 'shares' SII 10:753.37,1600.

e occurs in final position only in disyllabic words. Tri-syllabic words with final *e* alternating with *a* have *i* in the second syllable (§ 2.45 (e)).

In trisyllabic words, if the final vowel is unrounded, the preceding vowel is also unrounded; if the final vowel is nonfront (except o), the preceding vowel is also nonfront (Rama Rao 1974 § 13.5 (13)). The following sequences are found in the material.

CVCiCi: kaṇiti 'lump' SII 6:1040.3, 1417
CVCiCa: kāṭika 'eyesalve' NI 3 Ongole 104.12, 1424
CVCaCi: kōmaṭi 'vaisya' SII 10:770.13, 1691
CVCaCa: kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514
CVCuCu: ceruvu 'tank' SII 10:755.13,1604
CVCuCa: kuḍuka 'a kind of pot' SII 4:1344.9,1470
CVCaCu: modavu 'milch cow' SII 10:588.7, 15th century

In the words with a penultimate *m*, if the preceding vowel is *i* or *u* the final vowel is the same; e.g. *naḍ*(*i*) *mi* 'middle' SII 10:773.9,1697; *naḍumu* 'an intervening space' SII 5:25.11,1502. If the preceding vowel is *a* the final vowel may be *u* or *a* e.g. *veccamu* 'provision' SII 10:770.14,1691, *calama* 'fountain' NI 2 Nellore 117.10,1572. If the preceding vowel is *e* the final vowel is always *u* e.g. *palyamu* 'platter' SII 10:588.8, 15th century.

In the case of verb roots *e* does not occur in the non-initial syllable. Medial *i* occurs in trisyllabic roots only before y, e.g. *teḷiya* 'to know' SII 8:495.9, 1585.

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CHAPTER 5

THE NOUN

5.0. Noun stems of inscriptional Telugu of the period under study can be mainly divided into two types : (1) simple, consisting each a single morpheme, and (2) complex, consisting of more than one morpheme (Hockett § 28.2).

5.1. SIMPLE STEMS. Historically, simple stems belong to three classes: native, assimilated loans (tadbhavas), and unassimilated loans (tatsamas.) Apart from the early Indo-Aryan loans, a large number of Persian and Arabic words were also introduced into Telugu from the 15 century A.D. onwards as a result of political, social and cultural contacts with the Muslim rulers. Loanwords from cognate languages like Tamil and Kannada relatively more in number during the present period

5.2. Complex noun stems can again be divided into two types : (1) derived nouns, and (2) compound nouns.

5.21. The derived nouns can further be divided into two types : (1) derived from verb root, and (2) derived from noun.

5.21.1. NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERB ROOTS. The following derivative suffixes, which derive nouns from verb roots, are found the material.

(a) *-pu/-ṃpu*

mōpu (< mōyu + pu) 'load' SII 16:24.26, 1418

kolupu (< kolucu + pu) 'service' SII 6:846.6, 1414

kāṃpu (< kācu + ṃpu) 'cultivator or guard' SII 10:753.36, 1600

(b) *-vu*

kolvu (< kol (u) cu + vu) 'service' SII 10:748.28, 1577

(c) *-(ṃ)ta (< *ntta)*

vrāṃta (< vrāyu + ta) 'writing' SII 4:686.26, 1580

agaḍata (< PDr. *agaẓ+ta) 'trench' SII 7:845.7, 1632

(d) *-ṭa*

vaṃṭa (< vaṃḍu + ṭa) 'cooking' SII 5:5.5, 1404

campina '(he) who killed' SII 10:575.18,1408
gumḍakamma 'name of a river' SII 10:586.9, 1448
Komḍappa 'n.pr.' SII 10:777.12, 1740
taṭākambu 'tank' SII 10:573.61,1405
sādhimci 'having gained' SII 8:495.14,1516
varṣambulu 'years' SII 7:555.1,1546
yimdulō 'in this' SII 10:757.30,1650
sthalamamḍu 'in the place' SII 5:1159.8-9, 1828

When [ṃ] is preceded by a long vowel, the following consonants are not written geminated, since [ṃ] has the value of a half-nasal or a zero. All these examples belong to the native element.

mīṃdi 'on' SII 10:576.9, 1410
kāṃgā 'as soon as it was done' SII 10:582.8, 1415; SII 10:776.2, 1736
tūṃkālu 'measures' TIDES 3:38.8,1512
dāṃṭi 'having crossed' SII 10:751.25,1592
tōṃṭalu 'gardens' SII 10:756.12,1619
āṃḍabaḍaculu 'young women' NI 2 Nellore 5.6-7,1653

[ṃ] occuring after a long vowel, but before a consonant cluster, which involves a morpheme boundary, is phonemically a full-nasal (*B.V* 4-15; China Sitarama Swamy Sastry 1951:111). Here, the following consonant is not written geminated.

dugāṃḍlu 'half pennies' NI 2 Kandukur 18.26,1408
āṃḍlanu 'wives (acc.)' NI 2 Ongole 30.24,1482
yēṃḍlu 'years' SII 10:777.3, 17th century
vāṃḍlu 'they (hum.)' NI 2 Kandukur 41.53,1683;
NI 2 Kandukur 52.11,1635

The practice of writing a geminate consonant after [ṃ] to indicate its value as full-nasal might have derived from the fact that [ṃ] retains its full value before a consonant cluster even after long vowel. This can be described in the following rules.

(a) //V̄ṃ// → /V̄ⁿ/ ___ C
(b) //V̄ṃ// → /V̄N/ ___ C + C
(c) /C/ → //CC// / ṃ ___ (where ṃ N)

The same practice is found in Sanskrit loanwords, although there is no half-nasal in Sanskrit. But the practice is not as frequent as it is in the native words.

campina '(he) who killed' SII 10:575.18,1408
gumḍakamma 'name of a river' SII 10:586.9, 1448
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(a) $//\bar{V}\d{m}// \rightarrow /\bar{V}^{n}/ \; __ \; C$

(b) $//\bar{V}\d{m}// \rightarrow /\bar{V}N/ \; __ \; C + C$

(c) $/C/ \rightarrow //CC// \;/\; \d{m} __$ (where ṃ N)

The same practice is found in Sanskrit loanwords, although there is no half-nasal in Sanskrit. But the practice is not as frequent as it is in the native words.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ౙ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

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campina '(he) who killed' SII 10:575.18,1408
gumḍakamma 'name of a river' SII 10:586.9, 1448
Komḍappa 'n.pr.' SII 10:777.12, 1740
taṭākambu 'tank' SII 10:573.61,1405
sādhimci 'having gained' SII 8:495.14,1516
varṣambulu 'years' SII 7:555.1,1546
yimdulō 'in this' SII 10:757.30,1650
sthalamamḍu 'in the place' SII 5:1159.8-9, 1828

When [ṃ] is preceded by a long vowel, the following consonants are not written geminated, since [ṃ] has the value of a half-nasal or a zero. All these examples belong to the native element.

mīṃdi 'on' SII 10:576.9, 1410
kāṃgā 'as soon as it was done' SII 10:582.8, 1415; SII 10:776.2, 1736
tūṃkālu 'measures' TIDES 3:38.8,1512
dāṃṭi 'having crossed' SII 10:751.25,1592
tōṃṭalu 'gardens' SII 10:756.12,1619
āṃḍabaḍaculu 'young women' NI 2 Nellore 5.6-7,1653

[ṃ] occuring after a long vowel, but before a consonant cluster, which involves a morpheme boundary, is phonemically a full-nasal (*B.V* 4-15; China Sitarama Swamy Sastry 1951:111). Here, the following consonant is not written geminated.

dugāṃḍlu 'half pennies' NI 2 Kandukur 18.26,1408
āṃḍlanu 'wives (acc.)' NI 2 Ongole 30.24,1482
yēṃḍlu 'years' SII 10:777.3, 17th century
vāṃḍlu 'they (hum.)' NI 2 Kandukur 41.53,1683;
NI 2 Kandukur 52.11,1635

The practice of writing a geminate consonant after [ṃ] to indicate its value as full-nasal might have derived from the fact that [ṃ] retains its full value before a consonant cluster even after long vowel. This can be described in the following rules.

(a) //V̄ṃ// → /V̄ⁿ/ ___ C
(b) //V̄ṃ// → /V̄N/ ___ C + C
(c) /C/ → //CC// / ṃ ___ (where ṃ N)

The same practice is found in Sanskrit loanwords, although there is no half-nasal in Sanskrit. But the practice is not as frequent as it is in the native words.

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Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

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Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443
siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as	
siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) */ṃs/—//v(V)s, ṃsy, sy//*

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of *//m//* or *//v//* (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically */m/* in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v/h/s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced ($v^n h v^n$) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prasa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm/ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

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[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalaṃbi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j*/*jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramaṃdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI.* 2-37) and other later poets.

Telugu. There are cases of inverse spellings with -ṇ- for original -n- during this period (see § 2.5 (c)). However, all the cases with -n- of this period are preservations of earlier periods.

The following are the examples in which -n- is from oroginal *-ṇ-:

kānika 'gift' NI 3 Ongole 85.10, 1428 (DED 1209)

yenimidi 'eight' SII 16:174.2.7, 1550 (DED 670)

gōne 'a pack-sack' SII 10:753.52, 1600 (DED 1835)

gōne must be reborrowing from Sanskrit, i.e. *goṇī*.

The following are the examples for original -n-:

venaka 'back' NI 3 Ongole 77.16, 1534 (DED 4518)

anuvu 'suitable' SII 4:936.8, 1531 (DED 1999)

nūne 'oil' SII 8:536.31, 1585 (DED 3081, 3104)

kōnēru 'a square tank with steps' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9, 1533 (DED 1834)

mānitimi '(we) gave up' SII 10:586.16, 1448 (DED 3943)

-m-

-m- is from PDr. *-m-. During this period all instances of *-m-* are preservations of an earlier *-m-*. Examples:

gumi 'thick shrub besides the bed of the river' EI 4.46. 56, 1411 (DED 1449)

tama 'their' SII 10:572.6,1405 (DED 2582)

māmiḍi 'mango' SII 10:737.65,1526 (DED 3919, 3975)

mēmu 'we (excl.)' NI 2 Kandukur 48.8, 1650 (DED 4231)

nōmu 'a meritorious act' SII 10:737.104, 1526 (DED 3147)

tūmu 'sluice' NI 3 Rapur 60.25, 1612 (DED 2786)

-m- in *nōmu* and *tūmu* are suffixal and historically it is from *-*mp*- (Radhakrishna § 2.119).

Intervocalically *-m-* has an allophone of nasalized bilabial continuant [ṽ] (see § 2.41 (f)) during this period. This alternation could be seen in the inscriptional Telugu from 12th century itself (Kandappa Chetty § 1.89).

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[1]Four main regional dialects have been identified in Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti 1962). (1) North : Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. (2) Central : East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts, (3) South : Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Ananthapur and Chittoor (including the newly formed Prakasham district), and (4) Telangana or Western : Mahabubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Kareemnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts.

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

pețni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ృ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ృ and reading them as sequences of ృCC (where (ృ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ృ)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El [illegible] where it is only a single consonant.

murttázā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

1.3. Several scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma (1924), K. Ramakrishniah (1929), C. Narayana Rao (1937) and G.J. Somayaji (1947) have made attempts at a historical study of the early Telugu inscriptions. In his *Historical Grammar of Telugu*, K. Mahadeva Sastry (1969 based on his 1962 Ph.D. dissertation) has made a study of the history of the Telugu language with special reference to early Telugu from 200 B.C. to 1100 A.D.. B. Radhakrishna (1964) has made a systematic study of the historical and comparative aspects of the language of early Telugu inscriptions upto the 11th century. M. Kandappa Chetty (1966) collected about 1800 inscriptions belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries A.D. and studied the historical aspects of the language of these centuries. Though he has gathered enormous data from the inscriptions, he has left many of the phonological problems unsolved. He has not separated the phonology of the native words from that of the unassimilated loanwords. The present work is a continuation of the study of inscriptional Telugu from the 15th century to 1890 A.D., the date of the last available inscriptional record. A total of 992 published inscriptions are available for this period, and these have been thoroughly studied in terms of historical evolution of the language.

1.4. Formerly, scholars (K. Mahadeva Sastry: 4-5) have divided the history of the Telugu language into three periods: (1) Pre-Nannaya period or Old Telugu, (2) Post-Nannaya period or Middle Telugu, and (3) Modern period or New Telugu. Recently, Bh. Krishnamurti (1974, §§ 16.5-7) has set up four stages in the history of the Telugu language, taking major linguistic changes into account. According to him, there are four stages in the history of the Telugu language (1974: 449-466) :

Stage I : 200 A.D. to 700 A.D.
Stage II : 700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Stage III : 1200 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Stage IV : 1600 A.D. to 1900 A.D.

Stage I :During the first stage, i.e. from 200 A.D. to 700 A.D., the main source for the study of Telugu language is vocabulary available in the Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions. No important changes in the native element can be found during this period.

Stage II: Most of the important phonological changes started and ran their full course during the second stage, i.e. 700-1200 A.D. For instance, *ẓ* changed to *ḍ*, although *ẓ* continued to appear in writing upto the 13th century. Change of *ẓ* to *r* in the initial consonant clusters also started during this stage, from the 8th century. The other important changes found during the period are: merger of *ṟ* and *r*, deretroflexion: *ṇ* > *n* and *ḷ* > *l*, change of *nṟ* to *ṇḍ*; loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters; merger of initial *ḍ* with *d* (from 11th

paccaḷlu (sg. paccaḍi) 'pickels' SII 4:981.7, 1518

bēḷlu (sg. bēḍa) 'pulses' SII 16:169.6, 1548

aṃgaḷlu (sg. aṃgaḍi) 'markets' NI 2 Kandukur 48.69, 1650

maḷlu (sg. maḍi) 'fields' SII 10:758.13, 1658

r→ (> *ḍ* >) *ḷ*

dēvaḷlu (sg. dēvara) 'lords' SII 10:576.12-13, 1410; NI 2 Kandukur 20.29, 1640

ūḷlu (sg. ūru) 'villages' SII 4:1375.35, 1444

nīḷlu (sg. nīru) 'water' SII 16:50.7, 1513; NI 1 CP 9.39, 1687

komāḷlu (sg. komāra) 'sons' NI 2 Ongole 23.14, 1533

l→ (> *ḍ* >) *ḷ*

kavuḷlu (sg. kavulu) 'written engagements as granted by government to the cultivator of the soil' SII 4:711.14, 1593

pāḷlu (sg. pālu) 'shares' SII 10:753.37, 1600

vākiḷlu (sg. vākili) 'doorways' SII 7:564.6, 1667

ḷl→ *ḷ*/*V̄* __ is a graphemic rule in the following instances. Simplified representation of *ḷl* clearly indicates that *ḍl* is phonemically *ḷl*.

māmiḷuṃnnu (sg. māmiḍi) 'mangoes' SII 10:737.44, 1526

mārēḷuṃnnu (sg. mārēḍu) 'belfruits' SII 10:737.44, 1526

nērēḷu (sg. nērēḍu) 'black cherries' SII 10:737.44, 1526

vākīḷu (sg. vākili) 'doorways' SII 7:563.4, 1577

mēḷagāḷu (sg. mēḷagāḍu) 'musicians' SII 8:536.15, 1585

Following are the exceptional cases, in which change *ḍ*→*ḷ* / __ + *lu* did not take place.

vaḍlu (sg. vari) 'paddy' SII 7:569.46, 1580; NI 2 Kandukur 44.21, 1650

yeḍlu (sg. yeddu) 'oxen' SII 10:748.26, 1577

These plurals presuppose singular forms **waḍḍu* and *eḍḍu* respectively, which may be connected with **waẓ* and **eẓ* comparatively (*DED* 698 & 4325), in which **ẓ* > *ḍ* took place in Early Old Telugu before *-lu*.

century owing to political and cultural contacts with the Moghals, the Bahamanies and other muslim rulers. Such lexical borrowing is much more extensive from the 16th century onwards i.e. during the rule of the Telugu country by the Kutub Shahis. Śrinatha, a great Telugu poet (1360-1450 A.D.), described Annayamantri, to whom he dedicated his poetic work *Bhīmakhanḍamu*, as a scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turushka languages (Modekurti Satyanarayana 1959: 65-72). These languages apparently enjoyed popularity and prestige in the Telugu country by the beginning of the 15th century. But it is very difficult to say how the loanwords were pronounced since they were recorded with innumerable variations in the inscriptions. Loanwords from English also could be seen from 1802 A.D. onwards. On the whole, we can say that the Telugu language has taken its present shape during the period under study.

1.7. Though the inscriptions collected for the present study are distributed throughout the Telugu country, the largest number of them belong to the Coastal and the Rayalasima areas and only a few inscriptions belong to the Telangana region[1] Some regional isoglosses could be set up with the help of the material, but since only a few inscriptions are available from the Telangana region, it has not been possible to make a comprehensive dialect study of the language of the inscriptions; only a fragmentary treatment is given wherever possible. Moreover, many of the changes which are said to have originated in particular region during the earlier centuries (M. Kandappa Chetty: 432-445) are found to have spread throughout the Telugu country during the period under study.

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There is solitary case of *-gaḷu* as the plural suffix, which might be a borrowing from Kannada or Tamil, as it appears in an inscription belonging to Ananthapur situated close to Karnataka and Tamilnadu.

varuṣaṃgaḷu 'years' SII 7:556.1, 1547

For personal nouns and pronouns, *-ru* (< PDr* *r*) was in widespread use as the plural marker in Old Telugu (Radhakrishna § 4.21), and it was gradually replaced by *-lu* as the common plural marker for personal and non-personal nouns during the period under study. *-ru* mainly occurs only in pronouns and human numeral classifiers (§ 7.3). The other occurrences of *-ru* may be borrowings from the literary language, e.g.

guttagāṃḍru 'contractors' NI 2 Nellore 1.3-32, 1638

pekaṃḍru 'many persons' NI 2 Kandukur 41.17, 1683

5.32.3. HONORIFIC SUFFIXES. *-lu*, *-ru*, *-vāru*, *-ayyavāru*, *-gāru*, and *-gāralu* occur as honorific suffixes during the period under study. *-avaru* is another honorific suffix found in the material, which may be due to the influence of Tamil. The use of the plural suffixes as honorific suffixes started as early as the 7th century (Radhakrishna § 4.197) and became more extensive from the 12th century onwards (Kandappa Chetty § 2.26).

-lu

-lu as an honorific suffix appears even in Old Telugu (K. Mahadevasastry: 142).

manumalu (śrīgiri ayyaṃgāriki) 'grandson (hon.)' SII 10:572.A8, 1405

guruvulu (tirumala tātācāryula ayyavāriki) 'teacher (hon.)'
NI 2 Nellore 13.12, 1613

-ru

-ru as an honorfic suffix is found to occur from the 8th century (Mahadevasastry: 142). However, it has very limited use during this period.

reḍru (sg. reḍḍi) 'a caste suffix' NI 3 Ongole 104.12, 1424

-vāru

-vāru is added to proper nouns, which is first found to occur during the 8th century (Radhakrishna § 4.197) and it is added to accusative case forms in some cases during this period.

dāsarināyani-vāru SII 7:557.4-5, 1636

veṃkaṭappanāyaḍu bahāduru-vāru SII 7:790-8, 1714

mlēchulu (= mlēcchulu) 'foreigners' R.V.1933.61.12,16th century
prachanna (= pracchanna) 'disguised' R.V.1933.107.20,16th century

It appears from the above data that an aspirated geminate occurring in borrowed Sanskrit words was orthographically represented as a single aspirated consonant in Telugu, but phonetically realized as an unaspirated geminate. This has led to representing unaspirated geminate stops of native words as a single aspirated consonants in the orthography. This orthographic back formation can be symbolized as follows:—

	Phonemic (in Sanskrit)		*Orthographic* (in Telugu)		*Phonetic and phonemic* (in Telugu)
NON-NATIVE	/CCh/	⟶	//CCh// ~ //Ch//	⟶	[CC] /CC/
			//CCh// ~ //Ch//	⟵	[CC] /CC/

The following is the example for the actual phonetic and phonemic representation of aspirated geminate in Sanskrit loans in Telugu i.e. CC for CCh.

sudda (for śuddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 10:591.1, 15th century

The above phenomenon of representing phonemic /CC/ as //CCh// ~ //Ch// has further been extended to orthographic //CC//, which occurs in post nasal and post r position.

varṣaṃbhulu 'years' SII 5:14.1,1410; SII 4:709.2,1558
suṃkhāla 'taxes' SII 10:745.9,1530; SII 10:739.14,16th century
samarphiṃcenu 'presented' NI 3 Ongole 68.16,1534

There are a few cases of hyper correct gemination in the inscriptions as the consequence of the above practice.

ddh for dh

ddharmma (for dharma) 'duty' NI 3 Podili 4.8,1514

We notice //CC// being written sporadically as ChC and ChCh also

lekhka (= lekka) 'account' SII 5:1175.9,1419
suṃkhkaṃ (= suṃkaṃ) 'tax' SII 10:745.9,1530
makhkha (= makka) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 80.38,1614

2.32. //VṃN $\begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Y \end{Bmatrix}$ // = /VN $\begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Y \end{Bmatrix}$ /

The practice of writing an anuswāra before geminated nasals and nasals + sonorant combinations is frequently found in the material. Though this practice was also noticed by the earlier scholars (Narayana Rao:211), no interpretation has been given in their works. The anuswāra in these environments might be indicative of nasalization of the vowel preceding a nasal. Though

Intervocalically the occurrence of clusters homorganic nasal+stop represents an inherited trait; the other clusters found in the material are due to the loss of short vowels between consonants. Certain consonant groups are found across morpheme boundaries (§3.22.9).

Among the consonants only *m* and y occur in the final position.

In the root syllable all the vowels long and short occur. Only short vowels except /*o*/ can occur in the non-root syllable. Certain place names and names of certain trees and fruits, however, have a long vowel in the second syllable, e.g. *kempbāka* 'place name' SII 16:50.6-12,1513; *vomgōlu* 'place name' NI 3 Ongole 83.15, 1415; *kōnēru* 'a square tank' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9,1533; *mārēḷu, nērēḷu* 'both names of fruits' SII 10:737.44, 1525. These can be identified as compound words.

Geminated consonants occur only after a short vowel of the root syllable; gemination after a long vowel always results from sandhi across morph boundaries, e.g.*pāḷḷu* (pāl+ḷu) 'shares' SII 10:753.37,1600.

e occurs in final position only in disyllabic words. Tri-syllabic words with final *e* alternating with *a* have *i* in the second syllable (§ 2.45 (e)).

In trisyllabic words, if the final vowel is unrounded, the preceding vowel is also unrounded; if the final vowel is nonfront (except o), the preceding vowel is also nonfront (Rama Rao 1974 § 13.5 (13)). The following sequences are found in the material.

CVCiCi: kaṇiti 'lump' SII 6:1040.3, 1417
CVCiCa: kāṭika 'eyesalve' NI 3 Ongole 104.12, 1424
CVCaCi: kōmaṭi 'vaisya' SII 10:770.13, 1691
CVCaCa: kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514
CVCuCu: ceruvu 'tank' SII 10:755.13,1604
CVCuCa: kuḍuka 'a kind of pot' SII 4:1344.9,1470
CVCaCu: modavu 'milch cow' SII 10:588.7, 15th century

In the words with a penultimate *m*, if the preceding vowel is *i* or *u* the final vowel is the same; e.g. *naḍ*(*i*) *mi* 'middle' SII 10:773.9,1697; *naḍumu* 'an intervening space' SII 5:25.11,1502. If the preceding vowel is *a* the final vowel may be *u* or *a* e.g. *veccamu* 'provision' SII 10:770.14,1691, *calama* 'fountain' NI 2 Nellore 117.10,1572. If the preceding vowel is *e* the final vowel is always *u* e.g. *palyamu* 'platter' SII 10:588.8, 15th century.

In the case of verb roots *e* does not occur in the non-initial syllable. Medial *i* occurs in trisyllabic roots only before y, e.g. *teḷiya* 'to know' SII 8:495.9, 1585.

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
⤺/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

CHAPTER 5

THE NOUN

5.0. Noun stems of inscriptional Telugu of the period under study can be mainly divided into two types : (1) simple, consisting each a single morpheme, and (2) complex, consisting of more than one morpheme (Hockett § 28.2).

5.1. SIMPLE STEMS. Historically, simple stems belong to three classes: native, assimilated loans (tadbhavas), and unassimilated loans (tatsamas.) Apart from the early Indo-Aryan loans, a large number of Persian and Arabic words were also introduced into Telugu from the 15 century A.D. onwards as a result of political, social and cultural contacts with the Muslim rulers. Loanwords from cognate languages like Tamil and Kannada relatively more in number during the present period

5.2. Complex noun stems can again be divided into two types : (1) derived nouns, and (2) compound nouns.

5.21. The derived nouns can further be divided into two types : (1) derived from verb root, and (2) derived from noun.

5.21.1. NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERB ROOTS. The following derivative suffixes, which derive nouns from verb roots, are found the material.

(a) *-pu/-ṃpu*

mōpu (< mōyu + pu) 'load' SII 16:24.26, 1418

kolupu (< kolucu + pu) 'service' SII 6:846.6, 1414

kāṃpu (< kācu + ṃpu) 'cultivator or guard' SII 10:753.36, 1600

(b) *-vu*

kolvu (< kol (u) cu + vu) 'service' SII 10:748.28, 1577

(c) *-(ṃ)ta (< *ntta)*

vrāṃta (< vrāyu + ta) 'writing' SII 4:686.26, 1580

agaḍata (< PDr. *agaẓ+ta) 'trench' SII 7:845.7, 1632

(d) *-ṭa*

vaṃṭa (< vaṃḍu + ṭa) 'cooking' SII 5:5.5, 1404

Rule 1	goṛya	nūnya	paḷyaṃ
Rule 2	goṛṛe	nūne	paḷḷeṃ
Rule 3	goṛṛɛ	nūnɛ	paḷḷɛṃ[9]

Orthographically this (ɛ) is represented by various spellings, i.e. *-e*, *-ya* and *-a*. Even in the following sandhi forms spelling variation *ya/e* might have represented a lower mid front vowel (ɛ), which results from sandhi of *i+a*.[10] Both of the following examples have the structure, the name of a women+a female suffix.

kāmākṣyamma(←kāmākṣi+amma) SII 7:561.9, 1565
anitallemaṃgāru(←anitalli+amaṃgāru) SII 5:109.8, 1423

In the following cases of internal sandhi also the graphic variation *ya/e* might have stood for a lower mid front vowel

(*i*) *a+e*→? (phonetically [ɛ])

aḍḍa+e(ṃ)ḍu 'adda-ful measure'
aḍyaḍu SII 5:1239.8, 1418
aḍḍeḍu SII 1248.22, 1471

(*ii*) *i+e*→?(phonetically[ɛ])

puṭṭi+e(ṃ)ḍu 'puttiful measure'
puṭyaṃḍu SII 6:1024.6, 1416
puṭyaḍu SII 4:800.18, 1513
puṭṭeṃḍu NI 2 Kandukur 68.23, 1406

puṭṭeḍu SII 5:44.11, 1458

yē in the following instance might have represented the lower mid front vowel.

myēraku 'upto' NI 3 Rapur 30.8, 1638

(f) *m*/*v*

māmiḍi/māviḍi 'mango' SII 5:1228.7, 1503; NI 2 Kandukur 46.37, 1682
māvasaṃ (/māṃsaṃ) 'meat' SII 16:207.10-11, 1556

Here, *v* appears to represent an allophone of *m*, i.e. (v^{m}) in the intervocalic position and before *s* as it is in Modern Telugu.

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[9]In Modern Telugu the plurals of *paḷleṃ* [*paḷlɛṃ*], *kaḷleṃ* [*kaḷlɛṃ*] are *paḷlæ lu* and *kaḷlælu*, respectively.

[10]B. Radhakrishna (1964:375) interpreted the representation like *mañcyaṇa* (*mañci*+*aṇa* EI 17:534-337.11,610 as the wrong application of the Sanskrit Sandhi rule i.e. *i*→*y*/ __ a vowel other than *i*.

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/cēśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century

tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇāyakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552

(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century

(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580

(kriṣṇamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamaṃṅāru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv /ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN// = /NN/*.

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= pettina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
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2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

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All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ర్)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ర్ and reading them as sequences of ర్CC (where (ర్) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ర్)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
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yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

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kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
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There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. Elsewhere it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
∽/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
φ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

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ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalaṃbi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j/jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramaṃdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI*. 2-37) and other later poets.

Telugu. There are cases of inverse spellings with -ṇ- for original -n- during this period (see § 2.5 (c)). However, all the cases with -n- of this period are preservations of earlier periods.

The following are the examples in which -n- is from oroginal *-ṇ-:

kānika 'gift' NI 3 Ongole 85.10, 1428 (DED 1209)

yenimidi 'eight' SII 16:174.2.7, 1550 (DED 670)

gōne 'a pack-sack' SII 10:753.52, 1600 (DED 1835)

gōne must be reborrowing from Sanskrit, i.e. *goṇī*.

The following are the examples for original -*n*-:

venaka 'back' NI 3 Ongole 77.16, 1534 (DED 4518)

anuvu 'suitable' SII 4:936.8, 1531 (DED 1999)

nūne 'oil' SII 8:536.31, 1585 (DED 3081, 3104)

kōnēru 'a square tank with steps' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9, 1533 (DED 1834)

mānitimi '(we) gave up' SII 10:586.16, 1448 (DED 3943)

-m-

-*m*- is from PDr. *-*m*-. During this period all instances of -*m*- are preservations of an earlier -*m*-. Examples:

gumi 'thick shrub besides the bed of the river' EI 4.46. 56, 1411 (DED 1449)

tama 'their' SII 10:572.6,1405 (DED 2582)

māmiḍi 'mango' SII 10:737.65,1526 (DED 3919, 3975)

mēmu 'we (excl.)' NI 2 Kandukur 48.8, 1650 (DED 4231)

nōmu 'a meritorious act' SII 10:737.104, 1526 (DED 3147)

tūmu 'sluice' NI 3 Rapur 60.25, 1612 (DED 2786)

-*m*- in *nōmu* and *tūmu* are suffixal and historically it is from *-*mp*- (Radhakrishna § 2.119).

Intervocalically -*m*- has an allophone of nasalized bilabial continuant [ṽ] (see § 2.41 (f)) during this period. This alternation could be seen in the inscriptional Telugu from 12th century itself (Kandappa Chetty § 1.89).

century). Replacement of homorganic nasals by anuswara [o] in writing became a permanent feature by the end of the 12th century.

Stage III: The third stage, i.e. 1200-1600 A.D. a transitional from Old Telugu to Modern Telugu, during which most of the spoken forms closer to the present day Telugu started to appear. During this stage, the merger of *r̤* and *r* has been completed and cases of inverse spellings with *r̤* for original *r* could be seen to be on the increase. Loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters was current during this period and forms with and without the loss of *r* are found with almost equal frequency. Change of noun final *-iya* to *-e* has started. The cluster *ḍḷ* was replaced by *ḷḷ*; *s* was pronounced *ś* before the front vowels. In the case of morphology we notice the emergence of constructions, which are closer to Modern Telugu. Forms like *teccutāḍu* (>MTe. *testāḍu*) 'he will bring' were recorded by the 13th century itself (Ketana: 26); *-ṃ* replaced *-mu* as the final element in certain neuter nouns; *-ti-* replaced *-iti-* as the past suffix; *-eḍi* replaced *-eḍu* as the habitual suffix from the 13th century onwards; *e/ē* as an emphatic clitic in place of earlier *-a* could also be seen from the 13th century onwards. Orthographic gemination of a consonant following a fully articulated nasal was frequently used during this period.

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1.6. The period of the present study has temporal unity in one respect. Apart from Sanskrit loans and other early borrowings, loanwords from Arabic and Persian sources are found in inscriptional Telugu from the early 15th

It appears that the last two cases represent borrowings from literature. In the case of *tēru yekki* the absence of vowel elision can be explained as the consequence of introducing a pause at the word boundry.

There is a solitary instance where -v- is inserted as a glide.

tiruvābharṇālu (←— tiru + ābharaṇālu) 'jewels of the idol'
TTDES 3:60.1.5, 1513; TTDES 3:60.5, 1513

The whole phrase might have been borrowed from Tamil since the source for many such expressions is Tamil.

4.13. There are a number of instances in which neither elision of the vowel nor insertion of a glide is attested in the material.

srigiri ayyaṃgāri 'proper noun and masculine honorific suffix (gen.)
SII 10:572.8-9, 1405

rāvi āku 'leaf of peepul tree' TTDES 3:60.5, 1513

kramamu eṭlannanu 'if one asks how the order is' NI 3 Rapur
18.11-12, 1622

These, again, represent a style of speech in which a pause can be inserted at the word boundary.

On the whole it appears that loss of *a*, *i*, and *u* has almost become regular during the period of study, though absence of sandhi is also possible as it is in Modern Telugu.

4.14. Vowel elision is obligatory before vowels which belong to bound morphs, or particles.

The suffix *-eḍu* is a bound morpheme which denotes quantity.

puṭṭeḍu (←— puṭṭi + eḍu) SII 5:44.11, 1458

aḍḍeḍu (←— aḍḍa + eḍu) SII 5:1248.22, 1471

tūmeḍu (←— tūmu + eḍu) TI Misc. 9.7, 1557

COMBINATIONS WITH CLITICS (PARTICLES)

vaccināvā? (←— vaccināvu + ā?) '(you) came + question marker'
SII 6:79.14, 1796

sūranaṃgārē (←— sūranaṃgāru + ē) 'n.pr. + emphatic particle'
SII 5:36.26, 1422

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Transliteration

అ	a
ఆ	ā
ఇ	i
ఈ	ī
ఉ	u
ఊ	ū
ఋ	ṛ
ఎ	e
ఏ	ē
ఐ	ai
ఒ	o
ఓ	ō
ఔ	au
ం	ṃ
ఁ	V^n
ః	ḥ
క	k
ఖ	kh
గ	g
ఘ	gh
ఙ	ṅ
చ	c
ఛ	ch
జ	j
ఝ	jh
ఞ	ñ
ట	ṭ
ఠ	ṭh
డ	ḍ
ఢ	ḍh
ణ	ṇ
త	t
థ	th
ద	d
ధ	dh
న	n
ప	p
ఫ	ph
బ	b
భ	bh
మ	m
య	y
ర	r
ఱ	ṟ
ల	l
ళ	ḷ
వ	v
శ	ś
ష	ṣ
స	s
హ	h
ఴ	ẓ
ı	Alveolar stop

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

4. Clusters arising out of external sandhi between two words. This can be divided into two types : (i) clusters due to elision of the final vowel of the first word, and (ii) *NB* clusters as a result of assimilation of word final -*N* with initial consonant of the following word (see chapter IV on sandhi), e.g.

(i) kōmaṭreḍḍi(←kōmaṭi+reḍḍi) 'n.pr.' NI 2 Kandukur 43.4-5, 1400-1
kom̩ḍrāju(←kom̩ḍa+rāju) 'n.pr'. SII 4:709.132,1558

(ii) gōvum̩jam̩ppina(←gōvuN+cam̩pina) 'cow (acc.)+that killed' SII 10:588.24, 1448

The consonant clusters in the following cases may be taken as tow-consonant clusters wih intrusive *ḍ*.

-ṇr- : tam̩ḍri (<*tan-ṯi) 'father' SII 10:583.12, 1429 (DED 2494)

pam̩ḍrem̩ḍu (<*pan+rem̩ḍu) 'twelve' NI 3 Udayagiri 22.7,1552, (DED 3236)

-ṇl- : im̩ḍla (<*il+ḷu) 'houses (obl.)' SII 6:770.8, 1403 (DED 420)

āmḍlanu(<*āḷ+ḷu) 'wives (acc.)' SII 16:246.7, 1560 (DED 342)

(see § 5.32.1 (i) for the descriptive study of the last two plural forms).

Examples of three consonant clusters *m̩ḍ* + *l*- arising from internal sandhi, particularly in plural formation (see § 5.32.1 (e)).

ēm̩ḍlu 'years' SII 5:37.45-46, 1494

pam̩ḍlu 'fruits' SII 6:844.10, 1472

gum̩ḍlu 'sphericals used in the ornaments' TTDES 3:76.9, 1515

vām̩ḍlu 'they' NI 2 Kandukur 41.53,1683

In the above words, historically, the nasal is lost in the singular forms after a long vowel.

-*m̩dr*- in *calivam̩d* (*i*) *ri* 'thirst resort for travellers'SII 4:789.148, 1518 is the result of syncopation.

3.23. Final consonants. Only consonants -*m* and -*y* can occur word finally.

-m

biyyam̩ 'rice' SII 8:536 25, 1585 (DED 4485)

tavvaṭam̩ 'digging' SII 7:845.7, 1632 (DED 2547)

paḷlem̩ 'a platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518 (DED 3308)

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443
siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as	
siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) */ṃs/—//v(V)s, ṃsy, sy//*

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of *//m//* or *//v//* (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically */m/* in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v/h/s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced ($v^n h v^n$) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prāsa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm/ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
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siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
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siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
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(*iii*) /*ṃs*/—//*v*(*V*)*s*, *ṃsy*, *sy*//

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
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The recurrence of //*m*// or //*v*// (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically /*m*/ in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v*/*h*/*s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced (*vⁿhvⁿ*) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prasa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm*/*ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

[18]*Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
∽/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
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the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// ← //Ch// / CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
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V	Vowel (in Phonology)
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*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
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→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century

tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇāyakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552

(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century

(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580

(kriṣṇamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamaṃṅāru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv/ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN// = /NN/*.

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

peṭni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. SYSTEMATIC SPELLING CONVENTIONS ; PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular. are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ᖊ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ᖊ and reading them as sequences of ᖊCC (where (ᖊ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ᖊ)

NATIVE WORDS

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

SANSKRIT LOANS

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El ⅝ where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genbtive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

Nominative		Oblique	
SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
nēnu	*mēmu*	*nan-*	*mam-*
KI 49.52,1567 SII 10:773.8, 1697 (9th/10 cent;Radhakrishna § 4.81)	NI 2 Kanigiri 17.4, 1535 (1st occurrence); SII 6:235.37, 1558; SII 5:874. 8, 1620; NI 2 Kandukur 48.8, 1650	SII 5:1203.36, 1773 (12th cent; Kandappa Chetty § 2.122)	NI 2 Kandukur 20.28, 1640 (1st occurrence)
	nēmu SII 16:42.8, 1503; (1st occurrence) SII 4: 802.23, 1509; SII 4:801.11,1531; SII 4:280.10, 1556; SII 10:774. 8, 1697		*mā-* SII 16:210.7, 1556; SII 4:709.36, 1558; SII 7:560.9, 1565; SII 10:747.15,1574; SII 5:166.6, 1624; NI 2 Kandukur 144. 15, 1650; SII 5:1203.36, 1773 (13th cent; Kandappa Chetty § 2.122)

nēmu, as the first person nominative plural, is most frequestly seen in the inscriptions of this period. It clearly supports the reconstruction of **ñām* as PDr inclusive plural (Krishnamurti 1968). However, in the inscriptional Telugu of the period under study *nēmu* is used only as 'we' exclusive.

6.42. SECOND PERSON.

Nominative		Oblique	
SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
nīvu	*mīru*	*nī-*	*mī-*
SII 7:556.10, 1547; TI 2 Misc. 9.7,1557; SII 10:759.29, 1663; KI 53.10,1812 (9th/10th cent; Radhkrishna § 4.81)	SII 4:1375.22, 1444 (1st occurrence); SII 16: 210.7,1556; SII 4:698.43, 1564; SII 8:536.9, 1585; SII 10:769.12,1691	SII 7:556.10,1547; SII 10:747.17, 1574; KI 53.9, 1812 (9th/10th cent; Radhakrishna § 4.81)	SII 10:586.16, 1448 (first occurrence); SII 8: 536.17, 1585; NI 2 Kandukur 44.15, 1650; SII 10:769.11, 1691

Modern Telugu from '*nuvvu*' in nominative singular is not attested in the material.

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

(*g*) *h* for *ϕ*

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

haḷiyarāmarājayyavāri 'name of a dynasty+name of a king' SII 16:231. 9,1558
hamaranāyaṃkaraṇaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhiga (for ...... sthayigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for $\overline{V}$

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for longthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for margana) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujari) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyanaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṛṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

(*g*) *h* for *ϕ*

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rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

mlēchulu (= mlēcchulu) 'foreigners' R.V.1933.61.12,16th century
prachanna (= pracchanna) 'disguised' R.V.1933.107.20,16th century

It appears from the above data that an aspirated geminate occurring in borrowed Sanskrit words was orthographically represented as a single aspirated consonant in Telugu, but phonetically realized as an unaspirated geminate. This has led to representing unaspirated geminate stops of native words as a single aspirated consonants in the orthography. This orthographic back formation can be symbolized as follows:—

	Phonemic (in Sanskrit)		*Orthographic* (in Telugu)		*Phonetic and phonemic* (in Telugu)
NON-NATIVE	/CCh/	⟶	//CCh// ∼ //Ch//	⟶	[CC] /CC/
			//CCh// ∼ //Ch//	⟵	[CC] /CC/

The following is the example for the actual phonetic and phonemic representation of aspirated geminate in Sanskrit loans in Telugu i.e. CC for CCh.

sudda (for śuddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 10:591.1, 15th century

The above phenomenon of representing phonemic /CC/ as //CCh// ∼ //Ch// has further been extended to orthographic //CC//, which occurs in post nasal and post r position.

varṣaṃbhulu 'years' SII 5:14.1,1410; SII 4:709.2,1558
suṃkhāla 'taxes' SII 10:745.9,1530; SII 10:739.14,16th century
samarphiṃcenu 'presented' NI 3 Ongole 68.16,1534

There are a few cases of hyper correct gemination in the inscriptions as the consequence of the above practice.

ddh for dh

ddharmma (for dharma) 'duty' NI 3 Podili 4.8,1514

We notice //CC// being written sporadically as ChC and ChCh also

lekhka (= lekka) 'account' SII 5:1175.9,1419
suṃkhkaṃ (= suṃkaṃ) 'tax' SII 10:745.9,1530
makhkha (= makka) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 80.38,1614

2.32. //VṃN $\left\{\begin{matrix}N\\Y\end{matrix}\right\}$ // = /VN $\left\{\begin{matrix}N\\Y\end{matrix}\right\}$ /

The practice of writing an anuswāra before geminated nasals and nasals + sonorant combinations is frequently found in the material. Though this practice was also noticed by the earlier scholars (Narayana Rao:211), no interpretation has been given in their works. The anuswāra in these environments might be indicative of nasalization of the vowel preceding a nasal. Though

(*g*) *h* for *ϕ*

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

haḷiyarāmarājayyavāri 'name of a dynasty+name of a king' SII 16:231. 9,1558
hamaranāyaṃkaraṇaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhigā (for ...... sthāyigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for $\bar{V}$

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for longthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for mārgāna) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujāri) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyānaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṝṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

Rule 1	goṛya	nūnya	paḷyaṃ
Rule 2	goṛṛe	nūne	paḷḷeṃ
Rule 3	goṛṛɛ	nūnɛ	paḷḷɛṃ[9]

Orthographically this (ɛ) is represented by various spellings, i.e. *-e*, *-ya* and *-a*. Even in the following sandhi forms spelling variation *ya/e* might have represented a lower mid front vowel (ɛ), which results from sandhi of *i+a*.[10] Both of the following examples have the structure, the name of a women+a female suffix.

kāmākṣyamma(←kāmākṣi+amma) SII 7:561.9, 1565
anitallemaṃgāru(←anitalli+amaṃgāru) SII 5:109.8, 1423

In the following cases of internal sandhi also the graphic variation *ya/e* might have stood for a lower mid front vowel

(*i*) *a+e*→*?* (phonetically [ɛ])

aḍḍa+e(ṃ)ḍu 'adda-ful measure'
aḍyaḍu SII 5:1239.8, 1418
aḍḍeḍu SII 1248.22, 1471

(*ii*) *i+e*→*?*(phonetically[ɛ])

puṭṭi+e(ṃ)ḍu 'puttiful measure'
puṭyaṃḍu SII 6:1024.6, 1416
puṭyaḍu SII 4:800.18, 1513
puṭṭeṃḍu NI 2 Kandukur 68.23, 1406

puṭṭeḍu SII 5:44.11, 1458

yē in the following instance might have represented the lower mid front vowel.

myēraku 'upto' NI 3 Rapur 30.8, 1638

(f) *m/v*

māmiḍi/māviḍi 'mango' SII 5:1228.7, 1503; NI 2 Kandukur 46.37, 1682
māvasaṃ (,māṃsaṃ) 'meat' SII 16:207.10-11, 1556

Here, *v* appears to represent an allophone of *m*, i.e. (*v*ᵐ) in the intervocalic position and before *s* as it is in Modern Telugu.

[9]In Modern Telugu the plurals of *paḷḷeṃ* [*paḷḷɛṃ*], *kaḷḷeṃ* [*kaḷḷɛṃ*] are *paḷḷæ lu* and *kaḷḷælu*, respectively.

[10]B. Radhakrishna (1964:375) interpreted the representation like *mañcyaṇa* (*mañci*+*aṇa* EI 17:534-337.11,610 as the wrong application of the Sanskrit Sandhi rule i.e. *i*→*y*/ __a vowel other than *i*.

(*g*) *h* for ϕ

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

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There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

The oblique form is *nū* (*m*) *ṭa-*, which is also used as an adjective.

nūṃṭa-yenamaṃḍru 'hundred and eight persons' SII 16:179.12, 1551

nūṭa-yēbaṃḍru 'hundred and fifty' SII 16:310.13, 1609

The nasal in *nūṃṭa* is spurious.

(1) Thousand: The word for thousand is found only in Telugu among the Dravidian languages. The variations for the word 'thousand' are:

vēyi/veyi SII 16:328.6, 1642/SII 16:325.2-3, 1638

The final syllable *-yi* is elided before the plural suffix.

vēlu NI 3 Udayagiri 42.8, 1533; KI 47.5, 1556

vē- is found as an adjective.

vē-guru 'thousand persons' SII 4:774.19, 1409

7.12. COMPOUND NUMERALS.

7.12.1 Numbers added to '10' :

(i) pan-ḍ-reṃḍu 'twelve' SII 16:110.26, 1535; SII 16:198.4, 1554

pamnneṃḍu 'twelve' KI 53.9, 1812

(ii) padmūḍō 'thirteenth' SII 16:330.17, 1647

(iii) padunālugu 'fourteen' SII 6:219.12, 1494

padnālugu 'fourteen' SII 16:172.5.3, 1620

(iv) padēnu 'fifteen' SII 16:172.5.3, 1549

padiyēnu 'fifteen' SII 16:261.26, 1620

(v) padāru 'sixteen' SII 16:118.18, 1553

padahāru 'sixteen' SII 16:235.15, 1558

(vi) padinenmidi 'eighteen' NI 3 Ongole 132.11-12, 1443

(vii) paṃddomaṃddu 'nineteen' SII 16:253.7, 1561

Words for 'eleven', and 'seventeen' are not available in the material for which words found earlier are *padunokaṃḍu* (13th cent.), *padi-n-okaṇḍu*

CHAPTER 5

THE NOUN

5.0. Noun stems of inscriptional Telugu of the period under study can be mainly divided into two types : (1) simple, consisting each a single morpheme, and (2) complex, consisting of more than one morpheme (Hockett § 28.2).

5.1. SIMPLE STEMS. Historically, simple stems belong to three classes: native, assimilated loans (tadbhavas), and unassimilated loans (tatsamas.) Apart from the early Indo-Aryan loans, a large number of Persian and Arabic words were also introduced into Telugu from the 15 century A.D. onwards as a result of political, social and cultural contacts with the Muslim rulers. Loanwords from cognate languages like Tamil and Kannada relatively more in number during the present period

5.2. Complex noun stems can again be divided into two types : (1) derived nouns, and (2) compound nouns.

5.21. The derived nouns can further be divided into two types : (1) derived from verb root, and (2) derived from noun.

5.21.1. NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERB ROOTS. The following derivative suffixes, which derive nouns from verb roots, are found the material.

(a) *-pu/-ṃpu*

mōpu (< mōyu + pu) 'load' SII 16:24.26, 1418

kolupu (< kolucu + pu) 'service' SII 6:846.6, 1414

kāṃpu (< kācu + ṃpu) 'cultivator or guard' SII 10:753.36, 1600

(b) *-vu*

kolvu (< kol (u) cu + vu) 'service' SII 10:748.28, 1577

(c) *-(ṃ)ta (< *ntta)*

vrāṃta (< vrāyu + ta) 'writing' SII 4:686.26, 1580

agaḍata (< PDr. *agaẓ+ta) 'trench' SII 7:845.7, 1632

(d) *-ṭa*

vaṃṭa (< vaṃḍu + ṭa) 'cooking' SII 5:5.5, 1404

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.
cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401
cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century
tīsi/tiśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406
(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552
(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century
(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580
(krisṇamaṃgāru)/ krisṇamaṃṅaru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546
tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650
(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv/ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN//* = */NN/*.

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
∽/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. ABERRANT SPELLING CONVENTIONS : PHONEMIC INTERPRETATION

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// > CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

pețni (= pețțina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūm̤) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. SYSTEMATIC SPELLING CONVENTIONS ; PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ౖ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ౖ and reading them as sequences of ౖCC (where (ౖ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ౖ)

NATIVE WORDS

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

SANSKRIT LOANS

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggam̤ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttām̤ḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El ౚ where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaram̤ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

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sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

mlēchulu (= mlēcchulu) 'foreigners' R.V.1933.61.12,16th century
prachanna (= pracchanna) 'disguised' R.V.1933.107.20,16th century

It appears from the above data that an aspirated geminate occurring in borrowed Sanskrit words was orthographically represented as a single aspirated consonant in Telugu, but phonetically realized as an unaspirated geminate. This has led to representing unaspirated geminate stops of native words as a single aspirated consonants in the orthography. This orthographic back formation can be symbolized as follows:—

	Phonemic (in Sanskrit)	*Orthographic* (in Telugu)	*Phonetic and phonemic* (in Telugu)
NON-NATIVE	/CCh/ ⟶	//CCh// ↽ //Ch// ⟶	[CC] /CC/
		//CCh// ↽ //Ch// ⟵	[CC] /CC/

The following is the example for the actual phonetic and phonemic representation of aspirated geminate in Sanskrit loans in Telugu i.e. CC for CCh.

sudda (for śuddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 10:591.1, 15th century

The above phenomenon of representing phonemic /CC/ as //CCh// ↽ //Ch// has further been extended to orthographic //CC//, which occurs in post nasal and post r position.

varṣaṃbhulu 'years' SII 5:14.1,1410; SII 4:709.2,1558
suṃkhāla 'taxes' SII 10:745.9,1530; SII 10:739.14,16th century
samarphiṃcenu 'presented' NI 3 Ongole 68.16,1534

There are a few cases of hyper correct gemination in the inscriptions as the consequence of the above practice.

ddh for dh

ddharmma (for dharma) 'duty' NI 3 Podili 4.8,1514

We notice //CC// being written sporadically as ChC and ChCh also

lekhka (= lekka) 'account' SII 5:1175.9,1419
suṃkhkaṃ (= suṃkaṃ) 'tax' SII 10:745.9,1530
makhkha (= makka) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 80.38,1614

2.32. //VṃN $\begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Y \end{Bmatrix}$ // = /VN $\begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Y \end{Bmatrix}$ /

The practice of writing an anuswāra before geminated nasals and nasals + sonorant combinations is frequently found in the material. Though this practice was also noticed by the earlier scholars (Narayana Rao:211), no interpretation has been given in their works. The anuswāra in these environments might be indicative of nasalization of the vowel preceding a nasal. Though

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
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2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ర్)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ర్ and reading them as sequences of ర్CC (where (ర్) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ర్)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
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kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
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There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El [illegible] where it is only a single consonant.

murttazā nagaraṃ 'place namo' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

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2.3. ABERRANT SPELLING CONVENTIONS : PHONEMIC INTERPRETATION

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(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.
cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401
cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century
tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406
(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552
(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century
(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580
(krisṇamamaṃgāru)/ krisṇamamaṃṅaru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546
tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650
(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv/ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN//* = */NN/*.

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Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

(*g*) *h* for *ϕ*

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

haḷiyarāmarājayyavāri 'name of a dynasty+name of a king' SII 16:231.9,1558
hamaranāyaṃkaraṇaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhigā (for ...... sthāyigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for $\bar{V}$

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for lengthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for mārgāna) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujāri) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyānaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṛṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalaṃbi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j/jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramaṃdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI.* 2-37) and other later poets.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. ABERRANT SPELLING CONVENTIONS : PHONEMIC INTERPRETATION

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// < CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
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IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443
siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as	
siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) */ṃs/—//v(V)s, ṃsy, sy//*

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of *//m//* or *//v//* (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically */m/* in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v/h/s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced ($v^n hv^n$) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prāsa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm/ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

paḍa-koṭṭu (paḍu + a (N) 'to fall' + koṭṭu 'to knock or beat')
'to cause to fall down' TTDES 3:76.4, 1515

paḍa-vēs (paḍu + a (N) 'fall' + vēs 'to throw') 'to cause to throw'
SII 6:79.14, 1796

tirugaṃ-baḍu (tirugu + a (N) 'to roam or turn' + paḍu 'to fall')
'to rebel' SII 10:751.19, 1592

(ii) V^1 (past participle) + explicator verb

pāri-pōvu (pāru 'to run' + pōvu 'to go') 'to run away'
SII 10:751.24, 1592

ayi-pōvu (agu 'to be' + pōvu 'to go') 'to be finished'
SII 10:745.25, 1530

cani-pōvu (canu 'to go' + pōvu 'to go') 'to die' KI 61.8,
19th century

celli-vacc (cellu 'to be in use' + vacc 'to come') 'to continue in use'
SII 10:738.10, 16th century

sāgi-vacc (sāgu 'to continue' + vacc 'to come) 'to be continued'
SII 4:299.47, 1546

tecci-peṭṭu (tecc 'to bring + peṭṭu 'to put) 'to bring'
SII 5:1175.10, 1419

kani-peṭṭu (kanu 'to see' + peṭṭu 'to put') 'to watch'
NI 2 Kandukur 48.63, 1650

tīsi-vēs (tīyu 'to take out' + vēsu 'to throw') 'to take away'
NI 3 Rapur 3.34, 1638

V^1 (negative past participle) + explicator verb

naḍipiṃcaka-povu 'not to conduct' NI 3 Rapur 18.21, 1622

(iii) V^1 (verb stem) + kon (reflexive auxiliary)

When the verb stem *-kon* 'to take or get' is a second member of the compound verb stem, the first member may be simple, complex, or compound verb stem. *-kon* was added to the past participle in Old Telugu, e.g. *vēṇḍi-koni* 'having desired (for oneself)', *aḍigi-koni* 'having begged (for oneself)', *vilici-koni* 'having invited (himself)', *ammi-koni* 'having sold (by oneself)' (Radhakrishna § 4.124 (iii)), but it is added only to the uninflected stem during this period, as in Modern Telugu. Almost all compound verb stems with *-kon* as second member are reflexive verbs.

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ꜰ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ꜰ and reading them as sequences of ꜰCC (where (ꜰ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ꜰ)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El[illegible]where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

century owing to political and cultural contacts with the Moghals, the Bahamanies and other muslim rulers. Such lexical borrowing is much more extensive from the 16th century onwards i.e. during the rule of the Telugu country by the Kutub Shahis. Śrinatha, a great Telugu poet (1360-1450 A.D.), described Annayamantri, to whom he dedicated his poetic work *Bhīmakhaṇḍamu*, as a scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turushka languages (Modekurti Satyanarayana 1959: 65-72). These languages apparently enjoyed popularity and prestige in the Telugu country by the beginning of the 15th century. But it is very difficult to say how the loanwords were pronounced since they were recorded with innumerable variations in the inscriptions. Loanwords from English also could be seen from 1802 A.D. onwards. On the whole, we can say that the Telugu language has taken its present shape during the period under study.

1.7. Though the inscriptions collected for the present study are distributed throughout the Telugu country, the largest number of them belong to the Coastal and the Rayalasima areas and only a few inscriptions belong to the Telangana region[1] Some regional isoglosses could be set up with the help of the material, but since only a few inscriptions are available from the Telangana region, it has not been possible to make a comprehensive dialect study of the language of the inscriptions; only a fragmentary treatment is given wherever possible. Moreover, many of the changes which are said to have originated in particular region during the earlier centuries (M. Kandappa Chetty: 432-445) are found to have spread throughout the Telugu country during the period under study.

1.8. I have completely depended upon the published texts, edited by eminent scholars in epigraphy No attempt has been made to research the exact dates of undated inscriptions beyond identifying the century to which they belong, because it does not affect our conclusions in any way. In addition to the inscriptions, *Rāyavācakamu* a prose work written by an agent of Sri Viswanatha Nayaka of Madhura (ca. 1520 A.D.) is also included in our data for the study of the Telugu language of the 16th century. Telugu script took a distinct shape and got separated from the earlier Telugu-Kannada script known as the Bhattiprolu variety from 1300 A.D. onwards (Burnell A.C. 1878:25). I have tried to interpret inscriptional orthography thoroughly and I have also tried to treat orthographical errors separately in the following chapter. I have completely left out of my analysis forms known to be clearly printing mistakes in the published texts. Century-wise and region-wise distribution of the inscriptions studied is given in a map below. A complete list of inscriptions with sources used as data is given as Appendix I to this volume.

[1]Four main regional dialects have been identified in Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti 1962). (1) North : Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. (2) Central : East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts, (3) South : Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Ananthapur and Chittoor (including the newly formed Prakasham district), and (4) Telangana or Western : Mahabubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Kareemnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts.

The oblique form is *nū (m) ṭa-*, which is also used as an adjective.

nūṃṭa-yenamamṃḍru 'hundred and eight persons' SII 16:179.12, 1551

nūṭa-yēbaṃḍru 'hundred and fifty' SII 16:310.13, 1609

The nasal in *nūṃṭa* is spurious.

(1) Thousand: The word for thousand is found only in Telugu among the Dravidian languages. The variations for the word 'thousand' are:

vēyi/veyi SII 16:328.6, 1642/SII 16:325.2-3, 1638

The final syllable *-yi* is elided before the plural suffix.

vēlu NI 3 Udayagiri 42.8, 1533; KI 47.5, 1556

vē- is found as an adjective.

vē-guru 'thousand persons' SII 4:774.19, 1409

7.12. COMPOUND NUMERALS.

7.12.1 Numbers added to '10':

(i) pan-ḍ-reṃḍu 'twelve' SII 16:110.26, 1535; SII 16:198.4, 1554

paṃnneṃḍu 'twelve' KI 53.9, 1812

(ii) padmūḍō 'thirteenth' SII 16:330.17, 1647

(iii) padunālugu 'fourteen' SII 6:219.12, 1494

padnālugu 'fourteen' SII 16:172.5.3, 1620

(iv) padēnu 'fifteen' SII 16:172.5.3, 1549

padiyēnu 'fifteen' SII 16:261.26, 1620

(v) padāru 'sixteen' SII 16:118.18, 1553

padahāru 'sixteen' SII 16:235.15, 1558

(vi) padinenmidi 'eighteen' NI 3 Ongole 132.11-12, 1443

(vii) paṃddomaṃddu 'nineteen' SII 16:253.7, 1561

Words for 'eleven', and 'seventeen' are not available in the material for which words found earlier are *padunokaṃḍu* (13th cent.), *padi-n-okaṇḍu*

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century

tīsi/tiśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552

(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century

(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580

(kriṣṇamamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamamaṃṅaru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

samrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv/ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN// = /NN/*.

sukhāstiti 'state of happiness' SII 4:709.34, 1558
tirugāṃbaḍi 'having rebelled' SII 10:751.19, 1592

(*b*) Wrong occurrence of short vowels for long vowels
turpu 'East' SII 5:149.13, 1402
kurmma 'name of a holy town' SII 5:1174.2, 1422
purnnima 'full moon' SII 5:52.3, 1428
rajya 'empire' SII 5:1194.4, 1455
prasadamu 'remains of an offering to God' SII 5:1153.11-12, 1471
muḍu 'three' TIDES 5:44.72, 1545

(*c*) *a* for *i*
paschama 'West' NI 2 Kandukur 27.10, 1514
daraṇakōṭa 'a place name' SII 4:702.173, 1518

samati 'assembly or council' SII 10:781.4, 18th century

(*d*) *a* for *e*
nārikaḷa 'cocoanut' SII 4:702.138, 1518
vaḷḷadarimi 'having driven out' SII 5:1260.7, 1604

(*e*) *i* for *a*
modilaina 'et cetera' SII 4:280.10, 1556

(*f*) *u* for *a*
ahōrutramulu 'day and night' SII 5:1182.4, 1445

(*g*) *u* for *i*
pṛthuvi 'the earth' TTDES 4:17.2, 16th century

(*h*) *e* for *a*
kaṭṭeḍa 'law' SII 4:981.6, 1518
ārevīṭi 'name of a dynasty who ruled Vijayanagara empire' SII 4:815.5, 1550

(*i*) *e* for *i*
paḍasena 'that obtained' SII 10:572.7, 1405
podela 'village name' NI 3 podili 4.5, 1514

(*j*) *i* for *e*
sōliḍu 'a measure' SII 5:1153.11, 1471
naḍipiḍivāru '(they) may conduct' NI 3 podili 14.24, 1517

century). Replacement of homorganic nasals by anuswara [o] in writing became a permanent feature by the end of the 12th century.

Stage III: The third stage, i.e. 1200-1600 A.D. a transitional from Old Telugu to Modern Telugu, during which most of the spoken forms closer to the present day Telugu started to appear. During this stage, the merger of *ṟ* and *r* has been completed and cases of inverse spellings with *ṟ* for original *r* could be seen to be on the increase. Loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters was current during this period and forms with and without the loss of *r* are found with almost equal frequency. Change of noun final *-iya* to *-e* has started. The cluster *ḍl* was replaced by *ḷḷ*; *s* was pronounced *ś* before the front vowels. In the case of morphology we notice the emergence of constructions, which are closer to Modern Telugu. Forms like *teccutāḍu* (>MTe. *testāḍu*) 'he will bring' were recorded by the 13th century itself (Ketana: 26); *-ṃ* replaced *-mu* as the final element in certain neuter nouns; *-ti-* replaced *-iti-* as the past suffix; *-eḍi* replaced *-eḍu* as the habitual suffix from the 13th century onwards; *e/ē* as an emphatic clitic in place of earlier *-a* could also be seen from the 13th century onwards. Orthographic gemination of a consonant following a fully articulated nasal was frequently used during this period.

Stage IV: Most of the changes started during Stage III were completely established during the fourth stage, i.e. 1600-1900 A.D. In nominal stems, word-final *-iya* was completely replaced by *-e*. Lowered *e/ē* (presumably pronounced as æ ǣ) was indicated by *ya yā* or *a ā*. Word-initially, *o/va* alternation could be frequently seen during this period. Past negative forms like *cēyalēdu* 'did not do' were found by 1600 A.D. *-tū-/-tā-* has replaced *-cu(n)-* as the present tense marker. Modern verb forms like *testāḍu*, *vastāḍu* became frequent. Writing the stops geminated to indicate a preceding full nasal is much more regular during this period.

1.5. The period covered by the present study, therefore, overlaps two stages, part of Stage III and all of Stage IV. However, for the purpose of the present study we set up the following stages in the evolution of Telugu.

Old :	(*a*) Eary Old Telugu 200 A.D. to 700 A.D. (*b*) Late Old Telugu 701 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Middle :	(*a*) Early Middle Telugu 1201 A.D. to 1400 A.D. (*b*) Late Middle Telugu 1401 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Modern :	(*a*) Early Modern Telugu 1601 A.D. to 1900 A.D. (*b*) Modern Telugu 1901 onwards

1.6. The period of the present study has temporal unity in one respect. Apart from Sanskrit loans and other early borrowings, loanwords from Arabic and Persian sources are found in inscriptional Telugu from the early 15th

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
∽/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

mlēchulu (= mlēcchulu) 'foreigners' R.V.1933.61.12,16th century
prachanna (= pracchanna) 'disguised' R.V.1933.107.20,16th century

It appears from the above data that an aspirated geminate occurring in borrowed Sanskrit words was orthographically represented as a single aspirated consonant in Telugu, but phonetically realized as an unaspirated geminate. This has led to representing unaspirated geminate stops of native words as a single aspirated consonants in the orthography. This orthographic back formation can be symbolized as follows:—

	Phonemic (in Sanskrit)		*Orthographic* (in Telugu)		*Phonetic and phonemic* (in Telugu)
NON-NATIVE	/CCh/	⟶	//CCh// ↽ //Ch//	⟶	[CC] /CC/
			//CCh// ↽ //Ch//	⟵	[CC] /CC/

The following is the example for the actual phonetic and phonemic representation of aspirated geminate in Sanskrit loans in Telugu i.e. CC for CCh.

sudda (for śuddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 10:591.1, 15th century

The above phenomenon of representing phonemic /CC/ as //CCh// ↽ //Ch// has further been extended to orthographic //CC//, which occurs in post nasal and post r position.

varṣaṃbhulu 'years' SII 5:14.1,1410; SII 4:709.2,1558
suṃkhāla 'taxes' SII 10:745.9,1530; SII 10:739.14,16th century
samarphiṃcenu 'presented' NI 3 Ongole 68.16,1534

There are a few cases of hyper correct gemination in the inscriptions as the consequence of the above practice.

ddh for dh

ddharmma (for dharma) 'duty' NI 3 Podili 4.8,1514

We notice //CC// being written sporadically as ChC and ChCh also

lekhka (= lekka) 'account' SII 5:1175.9,1419
suṃkhkaṃ (= suṃkaṃ) 'tax' SII 10:745.9,1530
makhkha (= makka) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 80.38,1614

2.32. //VṃN $\left\{\begin{matrix}N\\Y\end{matrix}\right\}$ // = /VN $\left\{\begin{matrix}N\\Y\end{matrix}\right\}$ /

The practice of writing an anuswāra before geminated nasals and nasals + sonorant combinations is frequently found in the material. Though this practice was also noticed by the earlier scholars (Narayana Rao:211), no interpretation has been given in their works. The anuswāra in these environments might be indicative of nasalization of the vowel preceding a nasal. Though

CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION OF INSCRIPTIONAL ORTHOGRAPHY

2.0. A scientific study of a writing system deals with the distributional regularities of graphic signs and tries to establish an exact link between these and the linguistic units that they represent. The writing may represent sounds, phonemes, phonemic sequences, morphophonemes, syllables or words. The writing may also provide visible proof of sound change and display phonological variation. Again, there are cases of pure graphic variation of certain sounds which may be confused with phonological variation. Particularly, writing in the inscriptions is often influenced by the actual pronunciation in the native dialect of the scribes and different scribes could use slightly different spellings. In inscriptional writings, there is a greater graphic variation as compared to modern Telugu orthography. Traditional grammarians have formulated certain rules to minimise such variation, as will be discussed in the following sections. In the present chapter an attempt is made to provide criteria for the linguistic interpretation of the orthography of inscriptions during the period under study. As the Telugu syllabary of any period is near phonemic and the forms are represented with broad phonetic accuracy, the phonetic values of its symbols are clearly indicated by the writing of the scribes.

The principles for the interpretation of the inscriptional writing can be brought under the following headings :

1. Orthographic abbreviation
2. Systematic spelling conventions: phonemic representation
3. Aberrant spelling conventions: phonemic interpretation
4. Spelling variation: phonemic interpretation
5. Inverse spellings
6. Hyper-correct forms
7. Transfer of native pattern of spelling variation to non-native lexical items
8. Obvious misspellings

2.1. ORTHOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATION

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Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

campina '(he) who killed' SII 10:575.18,1408
gumḍakamma 'name of a river' SII 10:586.9, 1448
Komḍappa 'n.pr.' SII 10:777.12, 1740
taṭākambu 'tank' SII 10:573.61,1405
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yimdulō 'in this' SII 10:757.30,1650
sthalamamḍu 'in the place' SII 5:1159.8-9, 1828

When [ṃ] is preceded by a long vowel, the following consonants are not written geminated, since [ṃ] has the value of a half-nasal or a zero. All these examples belong to the native element.

mīmḍi 'on' SII 10:576.9, 1410
kāmgā 'as soon as it was done' SII 10:582.8, 1415; SII 10:776.2, 1736
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āmḍabaḍaculu 'young women' NI 2 Nellore 5.6-7,1653

[ṃ] occuring after a long vowel, but before a consonant cluster, which involves a morpheme boundary, is phonemically a full-nasal (*B.V* 4-15; China Sitarama Swamy Sastry 1951:111). Here, the following consonant is not written geminated.

dugāmḍlu 'half pennies' NI 2 Kandukur 18.26,1408
āmḍlanu 'wives (acc.)' NI 2 Ongole 30.24,1482
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NI 2 Kandukur 52.11,1635

The practice of writing a geminate consonant after [ṃ] to indicate its value as full-nasal might have derived from the fact that [ṃ] retains its full value before a consonant cluster even after long vowel. This can be described in the following rules.

(a) //V̄ṃ// → /V̄ⁿ/ ___ C
(b) //V̄ṃ// → /V̄N/ ___ C + C
(c) /C/ → //CC// / ṃ ___ (where ṃ N)

The same practice is found in Sanskrit loanwords, although there is no half-nasal in Sanskrit. But the practice is not as frequent as it is in the native words.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. ABERRANT SPELLING CONVENTIONS : PHONEMIC INTERPRETATION

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// < CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// < /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

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When [ṃ] is preceded by a long vowel, the following consonants are not written geminated, since [ṃ] has the value of a half-nasal or a zero. All these examples belong to the native element.

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(a) $//\bar{V}ṃ// \rightarrow /\bar{V}^{n}/$ ___ C
(b) $//\bar{V}ṃ// \rightarrow /\bar{V}N/$ ___ C + C
(c) $/C/ \rightarrow //CC//$ / ṃ___ (where ṃ = N)

The same practice is found in Sanskrit loanwords, although there is no half-nasal in Sanskrit. But the practice is not as frequent as it is in the native words.

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443

siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as

siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) /*ṃs*/—//*v*(*V*)*s*, *ṃsy*, *sy*//

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of //*m*// or //*v*// (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically /*m*/ in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v*/*h*/*s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced (*vⁿhvⁿ*) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prāsa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm*/*ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

---

[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

1.3. Several scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma (1924), K. Ramakrishniah (1929), C. Narayana Rao (1937) and G.J. Somayaji (1947) have made attempts at a historical study of the early Telugu inscriptions. In his *Historical Grammar of Telugu*, K. Mahadeva Sastry (1969 based on his 1962 Ph.D. dissertation) has made a study of the history of the Telugu language with special reference to early Telugu from 200 B.C. to 1100 A.D.. B. Radhakrishna (1964) has made a systematic study of the historical and comparative aspects of the language of early Telugu inscriptions upto the 11th century. M. Kandappa Chetty (1966) collected about 1800 inscriptions belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries A.D. and studied the historical aspects of the language of these centuries. Though he has gathered enormous data from the inscriptions, he has left many of the phonological problems unsolved. He has not separated the phonology of the native words from that of the unassimilated loanwords. The present work is a continuation of the study of inscriptional Telugu from the 15th century to 1890 A.D., the date of the last available inscriptional record. A total of 992 published inscriptions are available for this period, and these have been thoroughly studied in terms of historical evolution of the language.

1.4. Formerly, scholars (K. Mahadeva Sastry: 4-5) have divided the history of the Telugu language into three periods: (1) Pre-Nannaya period or Old Telugu, (2) Post-Nannaya period or Middle Telugu, and (3) Modern period or New Telugu. Recently, Bh. Krishnamurti (1974, §§ 16.5-7) has set up four stages in the history of the Telugu language, taking major linguistic changes into account. According to him, there are four stages in the history of the Telugu language (1974: 449-466) :

Stage I	:	200 A.D. to 700 A.D.
Stage II	:	700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Stage III	:	1200 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Stage IV	:	1600 A.D. to 1900 A.D.

Stage I : During the first stage, i.e. from 200 A.D. to 700 A.D., the main source for the study of Telugu language is vocabulary available in the Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions. No important changes in the native element can be found during this period.

Stage II: Most of the important phonological changes started and ran their full course during the second stage, i.e. 700-1200 A.D. For instance, *ẓ* changed to *ḍ*, although *ẓ* continued to appear in writing upto the 13th century. Change of *ẓ* to *r* in the initial consonant clusters also started during this stage, from the 8th century. The other important changes found during the period are: merger of *ṟ* and *r*, deretroflexion: *ṇ* > *n* and *ḷ* > *l*, change of *nṟ* to *nḍ*; loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters; merger of initial *ḍ* with *d* (from 11th

ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalaṃbi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j*/*jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramaṃdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI*. 2-37) and other later poets.

mlēchulu (= mlēcchulu) 'foreigners' R.V.1933.61.12,16th century
prachanna (= pracchanna) 'disguised' R.V.1933.107.20,16th century

It appears from the above data that an aspirated geminate occurring in borrowed Sanskrit words was orthographically represented as a single aspirated consonant in Telugu, but phonetically realized as an unaspirated geminate. This has led to representing unaspirated geminate stops of native words as a single aspirated consonants in the orthography. This orthographic back formation can be symbolized as follows:—

	Phonemic (in Sanskrit)	*Orthographic* (in Telugu)	*Phonetic and phonemic* (in Telugu)
NON-NATIVE	/CCh/ ⟶	//CCh// ~ //Ch// ⟶	[CC] /CC/
		//CCh// ~ //Ch// ⟵	[CC] /CC/

The following is the example for the actual phonetic and phonemic representation of aspirated geminate in Sanskrit loans in Telugu i.e. CC for CCh.

sudda (for śuddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 10:591.1, 15th century

The above phenomenon of representing phonemic /CC/ as //CCh// ~ //Ch// has further been extended to orthographic //CC//, which occurs in post nasal and post r position.

varṣaṃbhulu 'years' SII 5:14.1,1410; SII 4:709.2,1558
suṃkhāla 'taxes' SII 10:745.9,1530; SII 10:739.14,16th century
samarphiṃcenu 'presented' NI 3 Ongole 68.16,1534

There are a few cases of hyper correct gemination in the inscriptions as the consequence of the above practice.

ddh for dh

ddharmma (for dharma) 'duty' NI 3 Podili 4.8,1514

We notice //CC// being written sporadically as ChC and ChCh also

lekhka (= lekka) 'account' SII 5:1175.9,1419
suṃkhkaṃ (= suṃkaṃ) 'tax' SII 10:745.9,1530
makhkha (= makka) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 80.38,1614

2.32. //VṃN $\left\{\begin{matrix}N\\Y\end{matrix}\right\}$ // = /VN $\left\{\begin{matrix}N\\Y\end{matrix}\right\}$ /

The practice of writing an anuswāra before geminated nasals and nasals + sonorant combinations is frequently found in the material. Though this practice was also noticed by the earlier scholars (Narayana Rao:211), no interpretation has been given in their works. The anuswāra in these environments might be indicative of nasalization of the vowel preceding a nasal. Though

Intervocalically the occurrence of clusters homorganic nasal+ stop represents an inherited trait; the other clusters found in the material are due to the loss of short vowels between consonants. Certain consonant groups are found across morpheme boundaries (§3.22.9).

Among the consonants only *m* and y occur in the final position.

In the root syllable all the vowels long and short occur. Only short vowels except /*o*/ can occur in the non-root syllable. Certain place names and names of certain trees and fruits, however, have a long vowel in the second syllable, e.g. *kembāka* 'place name' SII 16:50.6-12,1513; *vomgōlu* 'place name' NI 3 Ongole 83.15, 1415; *kōnēru* 'a square tank' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9,1533; *mārēḷu, nērēḷu* 'both names of fruits' SII 10:737.44, 1525. These can be identified as compound words.

Geminated consonants occur only after a short vowel of the root syllable; gemination after a long vowel always results from sandhi across morph boundaries, e.g.*pāḷḷu* (pāl+ ḷu) 'shares' SII 10:753.37,1600.

e occurs in final position only in disyllabic words. Tri-syllabic words with final *e* alternating with *a* have *i* in the second syllable (§ 2.45 (e)).

In trisyllabic words, if the final vowel is unrounded, the preceding vowel is also unrounded; if the final vowel is nonfront (except o), the preceding vowel is also nonfront (Rama Rao 1974 § 13.5 (13)). The following sequences are found in the material.

CVCiCi: kaṇiti 'lump' SII 6:1040.3, 1417
CVCiCa: kāṭika 'eyesalve' NI 3 Ongole 104.12, 1424
CVCaCi: kōmaṭi 'vaisya' SII 10:770.13, 1691
CVCaCa: kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514
CVCuCu: ceruvu 'tank' SII 10:755.13,1604
CVCuCa: kuḍuka 'a kind of pot' SII 4:1344.9,1470
CVCaCu: modavu 'milch cow' SII 10:588.7, 15th century

In the words with a penultimate *m*, if the preceding vowel is *i* or *u* the final vowel is the same; e.g. *naḍ(i) mi* 'middle' SII 10:773.9,1697; *naḍumu* 'an intervening space' SII 5:25.11,1502. If the preceding vowel is *a* the final vowel may be *u* or *a* e.g. *veccamu* 'provision' SII 10:770.14,1691, *calama* 'fountain' NI 2 Nellore 117.10,1572. If the preceding vowel is *e* the final vowel is always *u* e.g. *palyamu* 'platter' SII 10:588.8, 15th century.

In the case of verb roots *e* does not occur in the non-initial syllable. Medial *i* occurs in trisyllabic roots only before y, e.g. *teḷiya* 'to know' SII 8:495.9, 1585.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443

siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as

siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) /*ṃs*/—//*v*(*V*)*s*, *ṃsy*, *sy*//

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of //*m*// or //*v*// (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically /*m*/ in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v*/*h*/*s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced (*vⁿhvⁿ*) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prāsa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm*/*ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (్ర)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ్ర and reading them as sequences of ్రCC (where (్ర) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ్ర)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El [illegible] where it is only a single consonant.

murttazā nagaraṃ 'place namo' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

Rule 1	goṛya	nūnya	paḷyaṃ
Rule 2	goṛṛe	nūne	paḷḷeṃ
Rule 3	goṛṛɛ	nūnɛ	paḷḷɛṃ[9]

Orthographically this (ɛ) is represented by various spellings, i.e. *-e*, *-ya* and *-a*. Even in the following sandhi forms spelling variation *ya/e* might have represented a lower mid front vowel (ɛ), which results from sandhi of *i+a*.[10] Both of the following examples have the structure, the name of a women+a female suffix.

kāmākṣyamma(←kāmākṣi+amma) SII 7:561.9, 1565
anitallemaṃgāru(←anitalli+amaṃgāru) SII 5:109.8, 1423

In the following cases of internal sandhi also the graphic variation *ya/e* might have stood for a lower mid front vowel

(*i*) *a+e*→? (phonetically [ɛ])

aḍḍa+e(ṃ)ḍu 'adda-ful measure'
aḍyaḍu SII 5:1239.8, 1418
aḍḍeḍu SII 1248.22, 1471

(*ii*) *i+e*→?(phonetically[ɛ])

puṭṭi+e(ṃ)ḍu 'puttiful measure'
puṭyaṃḍu SII 6:1024.6, 1416
puṭyaḍu SII 4:800.18, 1513
puṭṭeṃḍu NI 2 Kandukur 68.23, 1406

puṭṭeḍu SII 5:44.11, 1458

yē in the following instance might have represented the lower mid front vowel.

myēraku 'upto' NI 3 Rapur 30.8, 1638

(f) *m/v*

māmiḍi/māviḍi 'mango' SII 5:1228.7, 1503; NI 2 Kandukur 46.37, 1682
māvasaṃ (ˌmāṃsaṃ) 'meat' SII 16:207.10-11, 1556

Here, *v* appears to represent an allophone of *m*, i.e. (*v*ⁿ) in the intervocalic position and before *s* as it is in Modern Telugu.

[9]In Modern Telugu the plurals of *paḷḷeṃ* [*paḷḷɛṃ*], *kaḷḷeṃ* [*kaḷḷɛṃ*] are *paḷḷæ lu* and *kaḷḷælu*, respectively.

[10]B. Radhakrishna (1964:375) interpreted the representation like *mañcyaṇa* (*mañci*+*aṇa* EI 17:534-337.11,610 as the wrong application of the Sanskrit Sandhi rule i.e. *i*→*y*/ __a vowel other than *i*.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// / CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

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Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ꜰ)

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There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El[illegible]where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401
cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century
tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406
(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552
(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century
(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580
(kriṣṇamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamaṃṅaru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546
tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650
(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv /ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN// = /NN/*.

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443

siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as

siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) */ṃs/—//v(V)s, ṃsy, sy//*

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of *//m//* or *//v//* (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically */m/* in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v/h/s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced ($v^n hv^n$) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prasa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm/ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

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acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
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Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
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campina '(he) who killed' SII 10:575.18,1408
gumḍakamma 'name of a river' SII 10:586.9, 1448
Komḍappa 'n.pr.' SII 10:777.12, 1740
taṭākambu 'tank' SII 10:573.61,1405
sādhimci 'having gained' SII 8:495.14,1516
varṣambulu 'years' SII 7:555.1,1546
yimdulō 'in this' SII 10:757.30,1650
sthalamamdu 'in the place' SII 5:1159.8-9, 1828

When [m̩] is preceded by a long vowel, the following consonants are not written geminated, since [m̩] has the value of a half-nasal or a zero. All these examples belong to the native element.

mīmdi 'on' SII 10:576.9, 1410
kāmgā 'as soon as it was done' SII 10:582.8, 1415; SII 10:776.2, 1736
tūmkālu 'measures' TIDES 3:38.8,1512
dāmṭi 'having crossed' SII 10:751.25,1592
tōmṭalu 'gardens' SII 10:756.12,1619
āmḍabaḍaculu 'young women' NI 2 Nellore 5.6-7,1653

[m̩] occuring after a long vowel, but before a consonant cluster, which involves a morpheme boundary, is phonemically a full-nasal (*B.V* 4-15; China Sitarama Swamy Sastry 1951:111). Here, the following consonant is not written geminated.

dugāmḍlu 'half pennies' NI 2 Kandukur 18.26,1408
āmḍlanu 'wives (acc.)' NI 2 Ongole 30.24,1482
yēmḍlu 'years' SII 10:777.3, 17th century
vāmḍlu 'they (hum.)' NI 2 Kandukur 41.53,1683;
NI 2 Kandukur 52.11,1635

The practice of writing a geminate consonant after [m̩] to indicate its value as full-nasal might have derived from the fact that [m̩] retains its full value before a consonant cluster even after long vowel. This can be described in the following rules.

(a) //V̄m̩// → /V̄ⁿ/ ___ C
(b) //V̄m̩// → /V̄N/ ___ C + C
(c) /C/ → //CC// / m̩ ___ (where m̩ N)

The same practice is found in Sanskrit loanwords, although there is no half-nasal in Sanskrit. But the practice is not as frequent as it is in the native words.

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1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

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kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// / CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
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pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

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century owing to political and cultural contacts with the Moghals, the Bahamanies and other muslim rulers. Such lexical borrowing is much more extensive from the 16th century onwards i.e. during the rule of the Telugu country by the Kutub Shahis. Śrinatha, a great Telugu poet (1360-1450 A.D.), described Annayamantri, to whom he dedicated his poetic work *Bhīmakhanḍamu*, as a scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turushka languages (Modekurti Satyanarayana 1959: 65-72). These languages apparently enjoyed popularity and prestige in the Telugu country by the beginning of the 15th century. But it is very difficult to say how the loanwords were pronounced since they were recorded with innumerable variations in the inscriptions. Loanwords from English also could be seen from 1802 A.D. onwards. On the whole, we can say that the Telugu language has taken its present shape during the period under study.

1.7. Though the inscriptions collected for the present study are distributed throughout the Telugu country, the largest number of them belong to the Coastal and the Rayalasima areas and only a few inscriptions belong to the Telangana region[1] Some regional isoglosses could be set up with the help of the material, but since only a few inscriptions are available from the Telangana region, it has not been possible to make a comprehensive dialect study of the language of the inscriptions; only a fragmentary treatment is given wherever possible. Moreover, many of the changes which are said to have originated in particular region during the earlier centuries (M. Kandappa Chetty: 432-445) are found to have spread throughout the Telugu country during the period under study.

1.8. I have completely depended upon the published texts, edited by eminent scholars in epigraphy No attempt has been made to research the exact dates of undated inscriptions beyond identifying the century to which they belong, because it does not affect our conclusions in any way. In addition to the inscriptions, *Rāyavācakamu* a prose work written by an agent of Sri Viswanatha Nayaka of Madhura (ca. 1520 A.D.) is also included in our data for the study of the Telugu language of the 16th century. Telugu script took a distinct shape and got separated from the earlier Telugu-Kannada script known as the Bhattiprolu variety from 1300 A.D. onwards (Burnell A.C. 1878:25). I have tried to interpret inscriptional orthography thoroughly and I have also tried to treat orthographical errors separately in the following chapter. I have completely left out of my analysis forms known to be clearly printing mistakes in the published texts. Century-wise and region-wise distribution of the inscriptions studied is given in a map below. A complete list of inscriptions with sources used as data is given as Appendix I to this volume.

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[1]Four main regional dialects have been identified in Modern Telugu (Krishnamurti 1962). (1) North : Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. (2) Central : East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts, (3) South : Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Ananthapur and Chittoor (including the newly formed Prakasham district), and (4) Telangana or Western : Mahabubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Kareemnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts.

In the following sentence *agu* 'to become' seems to have been deleted.

14. ... vāriki narakaṃ (agunu)

to those - hell - (will become)

'They will go to hell' SII 10:775.10-12, 17th century

12.11.5. An equational sentence is negated by adding the negative form of the verb *agu* 'to become' to the predicate phrase and it is inflected for gender, number and person.

15. ... ikṭaḷlu yevvarikālānannu ... tappaṃgalavāramu gāmu

.. treasures - at anyone's time - (we) will deviate - we are not

'We will not transgress these treasures at anybody's time'

SII 4:710.31-32, 16th century

16. ... aḍiginavāṃḍu dommarivānivaṃṭivāṃḍu kāṃḍu

he who asks — he who is like tumbler — (he) is not

'He who asks for this is not of the tumbler tribe' SII 16:300.17-19, 1589

17. . . . vāru śrīvaiṣnava dharmaṃlōvāru gāru

they — those who are of the vaishnava faith — (they) are not

'they are not of the vaishnava faith' NI 3 podili 13.23-25, 1642

18. . . . (adi) . . . parimi polamu gādu

(that) . . . field of parimi village — is not

'(that) is not the field of parimi village' SII 10:759.21, 1663

12.12.1. VERB PREDICATION. If the predicate phrase has a finite verb as head, sentences with verb predication are formed. The verb may be either intransitive or transitive. If the verb is intransitive, the predicate phrase contains only a verb without being in construction with a noun. If the predicate phrase has a transitive verb, it also contains one or more noun phrases functioning as direct or indirect objects. The direct object occurs in the accusative case and it is obligatorily inflected with an accusative marker if the object noun is animate but optionally if inanimate. The indirect object occurs in the dative case.

19. vartakulu . . . uṃḍiri

the merchants . . . were

'There were merchants' SII 10:770.9, 1691

(*g*) *h* for ϕ

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

haḷiyarāmarājayyavāri 'name of a dynasty+name of a king' SII 16:231. 9,1558
hamaranāyaṃkaraṇaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhigā (for ...... sthāyigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for $\bar{V}$

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for longthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for mārgāna) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujāri) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyānaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṝṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

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1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

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speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= pettina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (్ర)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ్ర and reading them as sequences of ్రCC (where (్ర) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ్ర)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
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murttázā nagaraṃ 'place namo' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
∽/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

nṛsiṃha 'A Hindu God' is spelt as

nṛsiṃhva	SII 10:734.1, 1510;
nṛsihva	SII 10:577.2, 1410;
nṛsiṃhya	SII 4:709.13-14, 1558;
narasihya	SII 6:836.4-5, 1421;
narasiṃhma	NI 2 Nellore 34A.3, 1525;
narasihma	NI 3 Ongole 132.9-10, 1443
siṃhāsana 'throne' is spelt as	
siṃhvāsana	SII 7:555.3, 1546
sihvāsana	SII 7:564.3, 1667
siṃhyāsana	NI 2 Ongole 23.6, 1533
siṃhmāsana	NI 3 Rapur 35.7-8, 1634
siṃhmvāsana	SI 16:200.7, 1554

(*iii*) /*ṃs*/—//*v*(*V*)*s*, *ṃsy*, *sy*//

māṃsaṃ 'meat'	SII 16:137.14, 1544 is spelt as
māvusaṃ	SII 16:135.11, 1544;
	SII 16:193.22, 1554
māvasā (naku)	SII 10:771.16, 1692
māṃsyaṃ	SII 16: 178.26, 1551
māsyaṃ	SII 16:302.34, 1590

The recurrence of //*m*// or //*v*// (fricativised *m*) after *ṃ*+fricative in spelling in the above cases reflects two interesting phonetic phenomena : (1) that *ṃ*, which is phonemically /*m*/ in these environments, is pronounced as a bilabial nasal fricative; and (2) that lip rounding extends throughout the segment sequence *ṃ* (*v*/*h*/*s*) *a* as it is in Modern Telugu. This is most evident in *ṃh* sequences which are pronounced (*vⁿhvⁿ*) in Modern Telugu.

Appakavi (2-261) warned poets against treating the sequences *hv* and *ṃh* as *ṃhv* in Sanskritwords; for instance, *jihva* should not be treated as *jiṃhva* and *nṛsiṃha* should not be treated as *nṛsiṃhva*. This prohibition presupposes a phonetic and orthographic practice of labialising entire sequences of *hv* and *ṃh* by merging them into *ṃhv*. There are also clear examples from contemporary literature, in which words with *ṃh* agree with words with *hv* in prāsa.[18] The occurrence of *y* instead of *v* in forms like *siṃhyāsana* could be due to the similarity in appearance of the secondary graphs of *y* and *v*. Therefore, the spellings with *y* are aberrant.

(k) *hm*/*ṃh* $\begin{Bmatrix} m \\ v \end{Bmatrix}$

[18] *Prāsa* stands for an agreement in the consonant both in quality and quantity occurring as the second syllable in each line of the verse.

mlēchulu (= mlēcchulu) 'foreigners' R.V.1933.61.12,16th century
prachanna (= pracchanna) 'disguised' R.V.1933.107.20,16th century

It appears from the above data that an aspirated geminate occurring in borrowed Sanskrit words was orthographically represented as a single aspirated consonant in Telugu, but phonetically realized as an unaspirated geminate. This has led to representing unaspirated geminate stops of native words as a single aspirated consonants in the orthography. This orthographic back formation can be symbolized as follows:—

	Phonemic (in Sanskrit)		*Orthographic* (in Telugu)		*Phonetic and phonemic* (in Telugu)
NON-NATIVE	/CCh/	⟶	//CCh// ~ //Ch//	⟶	[CC] /CC/
			//CCh// ~ //Ch//	⟵	[CC] /CC/

The following is the example for the actual phonetic and phonemic representation of aspirated geminate in Sanskrit loans in Telugu i.e. CC for CCh.

sudda (for śuddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 10:591.1, 15th century

The above phenomenon of representing phonemic /CC/ as //CCh// ~ //Ch// has further been extended to orthographic //CC//, which occurs in post nasal and post r position.

varṣaṃbhulu 'years' SII 5:14.1,1410; SII 4:709.2,1558
suṃkhāla 'taxes' SII 10:745.9,1530; SII 10:739.14,16th century
samarphiṃcenu 'presented' NI 3 Ongole 68.16,1534

There are a few cases of hyper correct gemination in the inscriptions as the consequence of the above practice.

ddh for dh

ddharmma (for dharma) 'duty' NI 3 Podili 4.8,1514

We notice //CC// being written sporadically as ChC and ChCh also

lekhka (= lekka) 'account' SII 5:1175.9,1419
suṃkhkaṃ (= suṃkaṃ) 'tax' SII 10:745.9,1530
makhkha (= makka) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 80.38,1614

2.32. $//V\dot{m}N \left\{ \begin{matrix} N \\ Y \end{matrix} \right\} // = /VN \left\{ \begin{matrix} N \\ Y \end{matrix} \right\} /$

The practice of writing an anuswāra before geminated nasals and nasals + sonorant combinations is frequently found in the material. Though this practice was also noticed by the earlier scholars (Narayana Rao:211), no interpretation has been given in their works. The anuswāra in these environments might be indicative of nasalization of the vowel preceding a nasal. Though

(*g*) *h* for *ϕ*

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

haḷiyarāmarājayyavāri 'name of a dynasty+name of a king' SII 16:231. 9,1558
hamaranāyaṃkaraṇaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhiga (for ...... sthayigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for $\overline{V}$

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for longthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for margana) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujari) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyanaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṛṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

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INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

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ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalambi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j*/*jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramamdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI.* 2-37) and other later poets.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// < CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
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//Ch// < /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalaṃbi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j*/*jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramaṃdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI.* 2-37) and other later poets.

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= pettina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ᖋ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ᖋ and reading them as sequences of ᖋCC (where (ᖋ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ᖋ)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El ష where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

-gbh-: digbhāgaṃbu 'side' SII 10:573.11, 1405

-gy- : āyurārōgya 'life and health' SII 5:1180.6, 1402

-gr- : pradhānāgragaṇyulu 'the prime minister' SII 4:699.5, 1546

-gv- : digvijayayātra 'the military campaign to conquer the kings of the eight corners' TTDES 3:76.2.2, 1515

-nk- : kaiṃkarya 'service to deity' SII 8:536.2.5, 1585

-ng- : triliṃgga 'a country SII 10:750.2, 1590

-cy- : acyutarāyamahārāya 'name of a king' TTDES 4:20.3, 1532

-jñ- : ājña 'order' NI 2 Ongole 32.20-21, 1633

-jy- : rājyaṃ 'empire' SII 5:874.7, 1620

-jr- : vajrālu 'diamonds' TTDES 3:32.2.3, 1512

-nc- : paṃcaparvālaku 'five festivals' SII 5:874.13, 1620

-nj- : puṣpāṃjali 'an anjali of flowers for presentation of deity' SII 6:118.21, 1416

-ṭk- : ṣaṭkarmmaniratulu 'the six acts enjoyed on Brahmins collectively' SII 4:271.5, 1494

-ṇṭh-: grāmakaṃṭhālu 'pasture belonging to the village' SII 10:755.13, 1604

-ṇy- : pradhānāgragaṇyulu 'the prime minister' SII 4:699.5, 1546

-tk- : hṛtkamala 'the heart like lotus' SII 10:737.8-9, 1526

-tn- : navaratna 'nine diamonds' SII 6:248.34, 1515

-tp- : satputṛṃḍu 'good son' SII 10:573.47, 1405

-tph-: satphalamulu 'good results' SII 10:589.16, 15th century

-ty- : nityōtsavālu 'the daily worship of the deity' SII 4:248.6,1545

-tr- : ēkachatramai 'one royal power' SII 4:248.4, 1545

-ts- : nityōtasavālu 'the daily worship of the deity' SII 6:248.6, 1545

-thv-: pṛthvi 'the earth' SII 10:758.6, 1658

-dg- : maudgalyagōtruṃḍu 'belonging to the lineage of Mudgala' SII 5:1165.4, 1443

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The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

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Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ᠮ)

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SANSKRIT LOANS

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
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There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El ᠮ where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

Telugu. There are cases of inverse spellings with -ṇ- for original -n- during this period (see § 2.5 (c)). However, all the cases with -n- of this period are preservations of earlier periods.

The following are the examples in which -n- is from oroginal *-ṇ-:

kānika 'gift' NI 3 Ongole 85.10, 1428 (DED 1209)

yenimidi 'eight' SII 16:174.2.7, 1550 (DED 670)

gōne 'a pack-sack' SII 10:753.52, 1600 (DED 1835)

gōne must be reborrowing from Sanskrit, i.e. *goṇī*.

The following are the examples for original -n-:

venaka 'back' NI 3 Ongole 77.16, 1534 (DED 4518)

anuvu 'suitable' SII 4:936.8, 1531 (DED 1999)

nūne 'oil' SII 8:536.31, 1585 (DED 3081, 3104)

kōnēru 'a square tank with steps' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9, 1533 (DED 1834)

mānitimi '(we) gave up' SII 10:586.16, 1448 (DED 3943)

-m-

-*m*- is from PDr. *-*m*-. During this period all instances of -*m*- are preservations of an earlier -*m*-. Examples:

gumi 'thick shrub besides the bed of the river' EI 4.46. 56, 1411 (DED 1449)

tama 'their' SII 10:572.6,1405 (DED 2582)

māmiḍi 'mango' SII 10:737.65,1526 (DED 3919, 3975)

mēmu 'we (excl.)' NI 2 Kandukur 48.8, 1650 (DED 4231)

nōmu 'a meritorious act' SII 10:737.104, 1526 (DED 3147)

tūmu 'sluice' NI 3 Rapur 60.25, 1612 (DED 2786)

-*m*- in *nōmu* and *tūmu* are suffixal and historically it is from *-*mp*- (Radhakrishna § 2.119).

Intervocalically -*m*- has an allophone of nasalized bilabial continuant [ṽ] (see § 2.41 (f)) during this period. This alternation could be seen in the inscriptional Telugu from 12th century itself (Kandappa Chetty § 1.89).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// / CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
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In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

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-a-

amgaḍi 'market' SII 4:248.5, 1545 (DED 37)

kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514 (DED 961)

a in the second syllable of *venaka* (<*venuka*) 'back' NI 3 Ongole 77.16, 1534 and *kanaka* (<*kanuka*) 'because' SII 5:874.10, 1620 is due to the regressive vowel assimilation.

-i-

majjiga 'buttermilk' SII 16:201. 16, 1555 (DED 3871)

aṭika 'a small earthern vessel with a wide mouth' SII 6:829.9, 1412 (DEDS 16)

-u-

nālugu 'four SII 5:5.8, 1404 (DED 3024)

koḍuku 'son' 10:579.10, 1413 (DED 1787)

-e-

pallem 'platter' SII 4:981.6, 1518 (DED 3308)

3.26. VOWELS IN THE FINAL POSITION. Except *o* and long vowels, all other vowels occur in the final position, which are the preservations of the same of the earlier periods.

-a

kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514 (DED 961)

vāka 'field where there is percolation of water' NI 2 Kandukur 48.29, 1650 (DEDS 4370)

-i

tommidi 'nine' SII 4:789.220, 1518 (DED 2910)

vēyi 'thousand' SII 16:328.6, 1642

-u

tappu 'wrong 'NI 3 Rapur 78.19, 1401 (DED 2498)

kolvu 'Government' SII 10:748.28,1577 (DED 1788)

pāṭu 'manner' NI 2 Kandukur 20.29, 1640 (DED 3190)

-e

In all its occurrences in disyllabic words, final *-e* is the result of the change **-iya*>*-e*. **-iya*>*-e* is first attested in inscriptions from Nalgonda

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32. Complex adverbs like *yilāgu* 'in this way' are seen for the first time in the 16th century (§ 9.2 (a)). The modern adverbial form *bāgā* (< *bāgugā*) 'well' is first attested in the 17th century (§ 9.2 (b)). The addition of adverbial suffix *-lāgu* (*nu*) 'like' to habitual verbal adjectives is found only from the 15th century (§ 9.2 (c)).

13.4. The following observations are made with regard to the Verb Morphology :

1. Verb stems orginally ending in *-y* have been restructured as the ones ending in *-s* by the 15th century (§ 10.41 (i)).

2. The change of $\left\{\begin{matrix} c \\ cc \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow s \,/\, \underline{\quad} t$, which operated even in the 12th century became a regular and widespread rule by the 15th century (§ 10.4 (ii)).

3. Forms favouring the allomorph *-iṃc* and replacing *-iṃp* even before the non-past suffixes are most frequent during this period, e.g. *cēyiṃcaka* for old *cēyiṃpaka* 'not having made to do' (§ 10.41 (iii). The allomorph *-iṃp* is completely eliminated in Modern Telugu in favour of the allomorph *-iṃc* in all the environments.

4. Assimilation of *u* (V2) to *a* in the verbal bases of the type (C) V^1 CV^2 C (V^3) before *a* in the immediately following syllable became a regular rule from the 15th century as it is in Modern Telugu (§ 10.41 (iv)).

5. In certain cases, even the contracted forms of the adjectival nouns like *pōināru* (< *pōyinavāru*) are used as nominal predicates. Such usages represent the transitional forms which are in the process of the change of the past adjectival nouns into past finite verbs. The same forms functioned both as nominal predicates and as finite verbs for some time (§ 10.43.1).

6. Modern verbs like *viṃṭimi* '(we) heard' and *vuṃṭimi* '(we) were' are found in the inscriptions from the 17th century (§ 10.41 (viii)). But the forms *uṃṭū*, *aṃṭū* mentioned by Ketana (*ABB*: 26) indicate the prevalence of such forms even in the 13th century.

7. Past verbal forms like *unnāru*, *unnāmu*, which are derived from past adjectival nouns *unnavāru*, *uunavāramu*, are also found to occur in the durative meaning from the 15th century (§ 10.43.1) as in Modern Telugu. The modern past tense form *aiṃdi* 'it happened' is also attested for the first time in the 15th century (ibid).

8. Durative finite verbs with the modern suffix *-tu* are found from the 16th century, although *-tu* as the present participle was found in the 13th century (§ 10.43.2).

mlēchulu (= mlēcchulu) 'foreigners' R.V.1933.61.12,16th century
prachanna (= pracchanna) 'disguised' R.V.1933.107.20,16th century

It appears from the above data that an aspirated geminate occurring in borrowed Sanskrit words was orthographically represented as a single aspirated consonant in Telugu, but phonetically realized as an unaspirated geminate. This has led to representing unaspirated geminate stops of native words as a single aspirated consonants in the orthography. This orthographic back formation can be symbolized as follows:—

	Phonemic (in Sanskrit)	*Orthographic* (in Telugu)	*Phonetic and phonemic* (in Telugu)
NON-NATIVE	/CCh/ ⟶	//CCh// ~ //Ch// ⟶	[CC] /CC/
		//CCh// ~ //Ch// ⟵	[CC] /CC/

The following is the example for the actual phonetic and phonemic representation of aspirated geminate in Sanskrit loans in Telugu i.e. CC for CCh.

sudda (for śuddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 10:591.1, 15th century

The above phenomenon of representing phonemic /CC/ as //CCh// ~ //Ch// has further been extended to orthographic //CC//, which occurs in post nasal and post r position.

varṣaṃbhulu 'years' SII 5:14.1,1410; SII 4:709.2,1558
suṃkhāla 'taxes' SII 10:745.9,1530; SII 10:739.14,16th century
samarphiṃcenu 'presented' NI 3 Ongole 68.16,1534

There are a few cases of hyper correct gemination in the inscriptions as the consequence of the above practice.

ddh for dh

ddharmma (for dharma) 'duty' NI 3 Podili 4.8,1514

We notice //CC// being written sporadically as ChC and ChCh also
lekhka (= lekka) 'account' SII 5:1175.9,1419
suṃkhkaṃ (= suṃkaṃ) 'tax' SII 10:745.9,1530
makhkha (= makka) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 80.38,1614

2.32. $//\text{V}\dot{\text{m}}\text{N} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{N} \\ \text{Y} \end{Bmatrix} // = /\text{VN} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{N} \\ \text{Y} \end{Bmatrix} /$

The practice of writing an anuswāra before geminated nasals and nasals + sonorant combinations is frequently found in the material. Though this practice was also noticed by the earlier scholars (Narayana Rao:211), no interpretation has been given in their works. The anuswāra in these environments might be indicative of nasalization of the vowel preceding a nasal. Though

Rule 1	goṛya	nūnya	paḷyaṃ
Rule 2	goṛṛe	nūne	paḷḷeṃ
Rule 3	goṛṛɛ	nūnɛ	paḷḷɛṃ[9]

Orthographically this (ɛ) is represented by various spellings, i.e. *-e*, *-ya* and *-a*. Even in the following sandhi forms spelling variation *ya/e* might have represented a lower mid front vowel (ɛ), which results from sandhi of *i+a*.[10] Both of the following examples have the structure, the name of a women+a female suffix.

kāmākṣyamma(←kāmākṣi+amma) SII 7:561.9, 1565
anitallemaṃgāru(←anitalli+amaṃgāru) SII 5:109.8, 1423

In the following cases of internal sandhi also the graphic variation *ya/e* might have stood for a lower mid front vowel

(*i*) *a+e→?* (phonetically [ɛ])

aḍḍa+e(ṃ)ḍu 'adda-ful measure'
aḍyaḍu SII 5:1239.8, 1418
aḍḍeḍu SII 1248.22, 1471

(*ii*) *i+e→?*(phonetically[ɛ])

puṭṭi+e(ṃ)ḍu 'puttiful measure'
puṭyaṃḍu SII 6:1024.6, 1416
puṭyaḍu SII 4:800.18, 1513
puṭṭeṃḍu NI 2 Kandukur 68.23, 1406

puṭṭeḍu SII 5:44.11, 1458

yē in the following instance might have represented the lower mid front vowel.

myēraku 'upto' NI 3 Rapur 30.8, 1638

(f) *m/v*

māmiḍi/māviḍi 'mango' SII 5:1228.7, 1503; NI 2 Kandukur 46.37, 1682
māvasaṃ (/māṃsaṃ) 'meat' SII 16:207.10-11, 1556

Here, *v* appears to represent an allophone of *m*, i.e. (v^{m}) in the intervocalic position and before *s* as it is in Modern Telugu.

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[9]In Modern Telugu the plurals of *paḷḷeṃ* [*paḷḷɛṃ*], *kaḷḷeṃ* [*kaḷḷɛṃ*] are *paḷḷǣ lu* and *kaḷḷǣlu*, respectively.

[10]B. Radhakrishna (1964:375) interpreted the representation like *mañcyaṇa* (*mañci*+*aṇa* EI 17:534-337.11,610 as the wrong application of the Sanskrit Sandhi rule i.e. *i→y/*__ a vowel other than *i*.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

sukhāstiti 'state of happiness' SII 4:709.34, 1558
tirugāṃbaḍi 'having rebelled' SII 10:751.19, 1592

(*b*) Wrong occurrence of short vowels for long vowels
turpu 'East' SII 5:149.13, 1402
kurmma 'name of a holy town' SII 5:1174.2, 1422
purnnima 'full moon' SII 5:52.3, 1428
rajya 'empire' SII 5:1194.4, 1455
prasadamu 'remains of an offering to God' SII 5:1153.11-12, 1471
muḍu 'three' TIDES 5:44.72, 1545

(*c*) *a* for *i*
paschama 'West' NI 2 Kandukur 27.10, 1514
daraṇakōṭa 'a place name' SII 4:702.173, 1518

samati 'assembly or council' SII 10:781.4, 18th century

(*d*) *a* for *e*
nārikaḷa 'cocoanut' SII 4:702.138, 1518
vaḷladarimi 'having driven out' SII 5:1260.7, 1604

(*e*) *i* for *a*
modilaina 'et cetera' SII 4:280.10, 1556

(*f*) *u* for *a*
ahōrutramulu 'day and night' SII 5:1182.4, 1445

(*g*) *u* for *i*
pṛthuvi 'the earth' TTDES 4:17.2, 16th century

(*h*) *e* for *a*
kaṭṭeḍa 'law' SII 4:981.6, 1518
ārevīṭi 'name of a dynasty who ruled Vijayanagara empire' SII 4:815.5, 1550

(*i*) *e* for *i*
paḍasena 'that obtained' SII 10:572.7, 1405
podela 'village name' NI 3 podili 4.5, 1514

(*j*) *i* for *e*
sōliḍu 'a measure' SII 5:1153.11, 1471
naḍipīḍivāru '(they) may conduct' NI 3 podili 14.24, 1517

century). Replacement of homorganic nasals by anuswara [o] in writing became a permanent feature by the end of the 12th century.

Stage III: The third stage, i.e. 1200-1600 A.D. a transitional from Old Telugu to Modern Telugu, during which most of the spoken forms closer to the present day Telugu started to appear. During this stage, the merger of *ṟ* and *r* has been completed and cases of inverse spellings with *ṟ* for original *r* could be seen to be on the increase. Loss of *r* in the initial consonant clusters was current during this period and forms with and without the loss of *r* are found with almost equal frequency. Change of noun final *-iya* to *-e* has started. The cluster *ḍḷ* was replaced by *ḷḷ*; *s* was pronounced *ś* before the front vowels. In the case of morphology we notice the emergence of constructions, which are closer to Modern Telugu. Forms like *teccutāḍu* (>MTe. *testāḍu*) 'he will bring' were recorded by the 13th century itself (Ketana: 26); *-ṁ* replaced *-mu* as the final element in certain neuter nouns; *-ti-* replaced *-iti-* as the past suffix; *-eḍi* replaced *-eḍu* as the habitual suffix from the 13th century onwards; *e/ē* as an emphatic clitic in place of earlier *-a* could also be seen from the 13th century onwards. Orthographic gemination of a consonant following a fully articulated nasal was frequently used during this period.

Stage IV: Most of the changes started during Stage III were completely established during the fourth stage, i.e. 1600-1900 A.D. In nominal stems, word-final *-iya* was completely replaced by *-e*. Lowered *e/ē* (presumably pronounced as æ ǣ) was indicated by *ya yā* or *a ā*. Word-initially, *o/va* alternation could be frequently seen during this period. Past negative forms like *cēyalēdu* 'did not do' were found by 1600 A.D. *-tū-/-tā-* has replaced *-cu(n)-* as the present tense marker. Modern verb forms like *testāḍu*, *vastāḍu* became frequent. Writing the stops geminated to indicate a preceding full nasal is much more regular during this period.

1.5. The period covered by the present study, therefore, overlaps two stages, part of Stage III and all of Stage IV. However, for the purpose of the present study we set up the following stages in the evolution of Telugu.

Old :	(*a*) Eary Old Telugu 200 A.D. to 700 A.D. (*b*) Late Old Telugu 701 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
Middle :	(*a*) Early Middle Telugu 1201 A.D. to 1400 A.D. (*b*) Late Middle Telugu 1401 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
Modern :	(*a*) Early Modern Telugu 1601 A.D. to 1900 A.D. (*b*) Modern Telugu 1901 onwards

1.6. The period of the present study has temporal unity in one respect. Apart from Sanskrit loans and other early borrowings, loanwords from Arabic and Persian sources are found in inscriptional Telugu from the early 15th

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

Sl. No.	Source	Year	District
1.	NI 1 Kandukur 43	1400-1	Prakasam
2.	SII 5:24	1401	East Godavari
3.	SII 6:837	1401	Visakhapatnam
4.	SII 6:919	1401	,,
5.	SII 6:1014	1401	,,
6.	SII 6:1034	1401	,,
7.	SII 6:1103	1401	,,
8.	SII 16:11	1401	Chittoor
9.	NI 3 Rapur 78	1401	Nellore
10.	SII 5:29	1402	East Godavari
11.	SII 5:149	1402	West Godavari
12.	SII 5:1180	1402	Srikakulam
13.	SII 6:717	1402	Visakhapatnam
14.	SII 6:958	1402	,,
15.	SII 6:960	1402	,,
16.	SII 6:1031	1402	,,
17.	SII 6:1098	1402	,,
18.	SII 1062	1402	,,
19.	SII 6:1071	1402	,,
20.	SII 6:1073	1402	,,
21.	SII 6:1074	1402	,,
22.	SII 5:1184	1403	Srikakulam
23.	SII 6:770	1403	Visakhapatnam
24.	SII 6:817	1403	,,
25.	SII 6:865	1403	,,
26.	SII 6:930	1403	,,
27.	SII 4:1347	1404	East Godavari
28.	SII 5:5	1404	,,
29.	SII 5:10	1404	,,
30.	SII 6:985	1404	Visakhapatnam

CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION OF INSCRIPTIONAL ORTHOGRAPHY

2.0. A scientific study of a writing system deals with the distributional regularities of graphic signs and tries to establish an exact link between these and the linguistic units that they represent. The writing may represent sounds, phonemes, phonemic sequences, morphophonemes, syllables or words. The writing may also provide visible proof of sound change and display phonological variation. Again, there are cases of pure graphic variation of certain sounds which may be confused with phonological variation. Particularly, writing in the inscriptions is often influenced by the actual pronunciation in the native dialect of the scribes and different scribes could use slightly different spellings. In inscriptional writings, there is a greater graphic variation as compared to modern Telugu orthography. Traditional grammarians have formulated certain rules to minimise such variation, as will be discussed in the following sections. In the present chapter an attempt is made to provide criteria for the linguistic interpretation of the orthography of inscriptions during the period under study. As the Telugu syllabary of any period is near phonemic and the forms are represented with broad phonetic accuracy, the phonetic values of its symbols are clearly indicated by the writing of the scribes.

The principles for the interpretation of the inscriptional writing can be brought under the following headings :

1. Orthographic abbreviation
2. Systematic spelling conventions: phonemic representation
3. Aberrant spelling conventions: phonemic interpretation
4. Spelling variation: phonemic interpretation
5. Inverse spellings
6. Hyper-correct forms
7. Transfer of native pattern of spelling variation to non-native lexical items
8. Obvious misspellings

2.1. ORTHOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATION

There are certain writing habits found in the Telugu inscriptions, which cannot be said to represent actual pronunciation of contemporary

Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

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the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// ← //Ch// / CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (← iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (← okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (← bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (← kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (← lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (← makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (← puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (← panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (← suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (← siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century

tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552

(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century

(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580

(kriṣṇamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamaṃṅaru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv /ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv /→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN//* = */NN/*.

Intervocalically the occurrence of clusters homorganic nasal+stop represents an inherited trait; the other clusters found in the material are due to the loss of short vowels between consonants. Certain consonant groups are found across morpheme boundaries (§3.22.9).

Among the consonants only *m* and y occur in the final position.

In the root syllable all the vowels long and short occur. Only short vowels except /*o*/ can occur in the non-root syllable. Certain place names and names of certain trees and fruits, however, have a long vowel in the second syllable, e.g. *keṃbāka* 'place name' SII 16:50.6-12,1513; *voṃgōlu* 'place name' NI 3 Ongole 83.15, 1415; *kōnēru* 'a square tank' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9,1533; *mārēḷu, nērēḷu* 'both names of fruits' SII 10:737.44, 1525. These can be identified as compound words.

Geminated consonants occur only after a short vowel of the root syllable; gemination after a long vowel always results from sandhi across morph boundaries, e.g.*pāḷḷu* (pāl+ḷu) 'shares' SII 10:753.37,1600.

e occurs in final position only in disyllabic words. Tri-syllabic words with final *e* alternating with *a* have *i* in the second syllable (§ 2.45 (e)).

In trisyllabic words, if the final vowel is unrounded, the preceding vowel is also unrounded; if the final vowel is nonfront (except o), the preceding vowel is also nonfront (Rama Rao 1974 § 13.5 (13)). The following sequences are found in the material.

CVCiCi: kaṇiti 'lump' SII 6:1040.3, 1417
CVCiCa: kāṭika 'eyesalve' NI 3 Ongole 104.12, 1424
CVCaCi: kōmaṭi 'vaisya' SII 10:770.13, 1691
CVCaCa: kaṭṭaḍa 'an order' TTDES 3:71.2, 1514
CVCuCu: ceruvu 'tank' SII 10:755.13,1604
CVCuCa: kuḍuka 'a kind of pot' SII 4:1344.9,1470
CVCaCu: modavu 'milch cow' SII 10:588.7, 15th century

In the words with a penultimate *m*, if the preceding vowel is *i* or *u* the final vowel is the same; e.g. *naḍ*(*i*) *mi* 'middle' SII 10:773.9,1697; *naḍumu* 'an intervening space' SII 5:25.11,1502. If the preceding vowel is *a* the final vowel may be *u* or *a* e.g. *veccamu* 'provision' SII 10:770.14,1691, *calama* 'fountain' NI 2 Nellore 117.10,1572. If the preceding vowel is *e* the final vowel is always *u* e.g. *palyamu* 'platter' SII 10:588.8, 15th century.

In the case of verb roots *e* does not occur in the non-initial syllable. Medial *i* occurs in trisyllabic roots only before y, e.g. *teḷiya* 'to know' SII 8:495.9, 1585.

n.pr.	noun proper
O	Object
obl.	oblique
orth.	orthographic
p./per.	person
pl.	plural
pron.	pronuon
refl.	reflexive
S	Subject
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive
V	Vowel (in Phonology)
V	Verb (in Morphology)

Symbols

/	free variation
↽/~	phonologically conditioned alternation
∞	morphologically conditioned alternation
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
// //	orthographic representation
*	reconstructed form
>	historically became or developed into
<	historically came from or developed out of
→	changes into
←	comes from
V^n	nasalization
ϕ	zero

The order of items cited from inscriptions is as follows: Source title vol. no.; number of the inscription; Line no., the last is the year in A.D. Eg. SII 10:765.38-40, 1678

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Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

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2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// < CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

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In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

Telugu. There are cases of inverse spellings with -ṇ- for original -n- during this period (see § 2.5 (c)). However, all the cases with -n- of this period are preservations of earlier periods.

The following are the examples in which -n- is from oroginal *-ṇ-:

kānika 'gift' NI 3 Ongole 85.10, 1428 (DED 1209)

yenimidi 'eight' SII 16:174.2.7, 1550 (DED 670)

gōne 'a pack-sack' SII 10:753.52, 1600 (DED 1835)

gōne must be reborrowing from Sanskrit, i.e. *goṇī*.

The following are the examples for original -n-:

venaka 'back' NI 3 Ongole 77.16, 1534 (DED 4518)

anuvu 'suitable' SII 4:936.8, 1531 (DED 1999)

nūne 'oil' SII 8:536.31, 1585 (DED 3081, 3104)

kōnēru 'a square tank with steps' NI 3 Udayagiri 42.9, 1533 (DED 1834)

mānitimi '(we) gave up' SII 10:586.16, 1448 (DED 3943)

-m-

-*m*- is from PDr. *-*m*-. During this period all instances of -*m*- are preservations of an earlier -*m*-. Examples:

gumi 'thick shrub besides the bed of the river' EI 4.46. 56, 1411 (DED 1449)

tama 'their' SII 10:572.6,1405 (DED 2582)

māmiḍi 'mango' SII 10:737.65,1526 (DED 3919, 3975)

mēmu 'we (excl.)' NI 2 Kandukur 48.8, 1650 (DED 4231)

nōmu 'a meritorious act' SII 10:737.104, 1526 (DED 3147)

tūmu 'sluice' NI 3 Rapur 60.25, 1612 (DED 2786)

-*m*- in *nōmu* and *tūmu* are suffixal and historically it is from *-*mp*- (Radhakrishna § 2.119).

Intervocalically -*m*- has an allophone of nasalized bilabial continuant [ṽ] (see § 2.41 (f)) during this period. This alternation could be seen in the inscriptional Telugu from 12th century itself (Kandappa Chetty § 1.89).

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Paṃpa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

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Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. ABERRANT SPELLING CONVENTIONS : PHONEMIC INTERPRETATION

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The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
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In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century

tīsi/tiśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552

(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century

(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580

(kriṣṇamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamaṃṅaru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv/ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv/→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN//* = */NN/*.

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

> peṭni (= peṭṭina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
> yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
> gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
> ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
> mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
> ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
> yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ꜰ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ꜰ and reading them as sequences of ꜰCC (where (ꜰ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ꜰ)

Native words

> tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
> kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
> tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
> yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

> kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
> durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
> rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El[illegible]where it is only a single consonant.

> murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

It appears that the last two cases represent borrowings from literature. In the case of *tēru yekki* the absence of vowel elision can be explained as the consequence of introducing a pause at the word boundry.

There is a solitary instance where -v- is inserted as a glide.

tiruvābharṇālu (← tiru + ābharaṇālu) 'jewels of the idol'
TTDES 3:60.1.5, 1513; TTDES 3:60.5, 1513

The whole phrase might have been borrowed from Tamil since the source for many such expressions is Tamil.

4.13. There are a number of instances in which neither elision of the vowel nor insertion of a glide is attested in the material.

srigiri ayyaṃgāri 'proper noun and masculine honorific suffix (gen.)
SII 10:572.8-9, 1405

rāvi āku 'leaf of peepul tree' TTDES 3:60.5, 1513

kramamu eṭlannanu 'if one asks how the order is' NI 3 Rapur
18.11-12, 1622

These, again, represent a style of speech in which a pause can be inserted at the word boundary.

On the whole it appears that loss of *a*, *i*, and *u* has almost become regular during the period of study, though absence of sandhi is also possible as it is in Modern Telugu.

4.14. Vowel elision is obligatory before vowels which belong to bound morphs, or particles.

The suffix *-eḍu* is a bound morpheme which denotes quantity.

puṭṭeḍu (← puṭṭi + eḍu) SII 5:44.11, 1458

aḍḍeḍu (← aḍḍa + eḍu) SII 5:1248.22, 1471

tūmeḍu (← tūmu + eḍu) TI Misc. 9.7, 1557

COMBINATIONS WITH CLITICS (PARTICLES)

vaccināvā? (← vaccināvu + ā?) ' (you) came + question marker'
SII 6:79.14, 1796

sūranaṃgārē (← sūranaṃgāru + ē) 'n.pr. + emphatic particle'
SII 5:36.26, 1422

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

Transliteration

అ	a
ఆ	ā
ఇ	i
ఈ	ī
ఉ	u
ఊ	ū
ఋ	ṛ
ఎ	e
ఏ	ē
ఐ	ai
ఒ	o
ఓ	ō
ఔ	au
ం	ṃ
ఁ	V^n
ః	ḥ
క	k
ఖ	kh
గ	g
ఘ	gh
ఙ	ṅ
చ	c
ఛ	ch
జ	j
ఝ	jh
ఞ	ñ
ట	ṭ
ఠ	ṭh
డ	ḍ
ఢ	ḍh
ణ	ṇ
త	t
థ	th
ద	d
ధ	dh
న	n
ప	p
ఫ	ph
బ	b
భ	bh
మ	m
య	y
ర	r
ఱ	ṟ
ల	l
ళ	ḷ
వ	v
శ	ś
ష	ṣ
స	s
హ	h
ఴ	ẓ
ı	Alveolar stop

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SII 5:36.26, 1422

sukhāstiti 'state of happiness' SII 4:709.34, 1558
tirugaṃbaḍi 'having rebelled' SII 10:751.19, 1592

(*b*) Wrong occurrence of short vowels for long vowels
turpu 'East' SII 5:149.13, 1402
kurmma 'name of a holy town' SII 5:1174.2, 1422
purnnima 'full moon' SII 5:52.3, 1428
rajya 'empire' SII 5:1194.4, 1455
prasadamu 'remains of an offering to God' SII 5:1153.11-12, 1471
muḍu 'three' TIDES 5:44.72, 1545

(*c*) *a* for *i*
paschama 'West' NI 2 Kandukur 27.10, 1514
daraṇakōṭa 'a place name' SII 4:702.173, 1518

samati 'assembly or council' SII 10:781.4, 18th century

(*d*) *a* for *e*
nārikaḷa 'cocoanut' SII 4:702.138, 1518
vaḷladarimi 'having driven out' SII 5:1260.7, 1604

(*e*) *i* for *a*
modilaina 'et cetera' SII 4:280.10, 1556

(*f*) *u* for *a*
ahōrutramulu 'day and night' SII 5:1182.4, 1445

(*g*) *u* for *i*
pṛthuvi 'the earth' TTDES 4:17.2, 16th century

(*h*) *e* for *a*
kaṭṭeḍa 'law' SII 4:981.6, 1518
ārevīṭi 'name of a dynasty who ruled Vijayanagara empire' SII 4:815.5, 1550

(*i*) *e* for *i*
paḍasena 'that obtained' SII 10:572.7, 1405
podela 'village name' NI 3 podili 4.5, 1514

(*j*) *i* for *e*
sōliḍu 'a measure' SII 5:1153.11, 1471
naḍipiḍivāru '(they) may conduct' NI 3 podili 14.24, 1517

(*g*) *h* for *ϕ*

Word-initial *h* of loanwords is lost. There are instances where *h* is added before an original word-initial vowel as a reverse phenomenon.

haḷiyarāmarājayyavāri 'name of a dynasty+name of a king' SII 16:231. 9,1558
hamaraṇāyaṃkaraṇaku 'for the chiefdom of a feudel tenure' SII 7:561 16, 1565.
hājña 'order' SII 10:749.9-10, 1583

(*h*) *h* for *y*

Intervocalically, there are cases of replacement of *h* by *y* (§2.46.1 (c)). Conversely, we find spellings with *h* for an original *y*.

ācaṃdrārkastāhigā (for ...... sthāyigā) 'as long as moon and sun endure' SII 6:1105.11-12, 1414; SII 5:1194.14, 1455
maṇihagāṃḍlu (for maṇiyagāṃḍlu) 'Revenue Officers' SII 16:212.18, 1556

(*i*) *Vh*(*V*) for *V̄*

In the following cases *h* seems to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. It may be reverse writing for longthening of the vowel following loss of *h* in some loanwords (see § 3.32.3(1)).

mārgahāna (for mārgāna) 'on the way' NI 3 Ongole 132.15, 1443
pūjahari (for pujāri) 'temple priest' SII 10:737.59, 1526
puṇyahānaku (for puṇyānaku) 'for virtue' SII 16:159.12, 1547
bṛhaṇahatya (for bṝṇahatya) 'murder of the embryo' SII 16:320.14, 1626

(*j*) [ḥ] for *h*

In Sanskrit loanwords, the symbol visarga [ḥ] is written as an allograph of /h/ in certain environments. Inverse spellings in which [ḥ] is written for an original [ha] are found.

rokhaṃsaḥ (for rokhaṃsaha) 'along with money' SI. 16:208.18, 1556; SII 16:253.8, 1561

(k) *kṣ* for *cc* (<*ts*)

There is an instance of inverse spelling representing *cc* as *kṣ*, where *cc* is the result of a pronunciation change *ts* > *cc* in non-standard Telugu (see § 2.46.3 (e) & § 3.31.5(11-14)).

saṃvakṣara (for saṃvaccara < saṃvatsara) 'year' SII 6:805.17, 1472

This spelling could be a case of back formation created by the scribe on the

Transliteration

అ	a
ఆ	ā
ఇ	i
ఈ	ī
ఉ	u
ఊ	ū
ఋ	ṛ
ఎ	e
ఏ	ē
ఐ	ai
ఒ	o
ఓ	ō
ఔ	au
ం	ṃ
ఁ	V^n
ః	ḥ
క	k
ఖ	kh
గ	g
ఘ	gh
ఙ	ṅ
చ	c
ఛ	ch
జ	j
ఝ	jh
ఞ	ñ
ట	ṭ
ఠ	ṭh
డ	ḍ
ఢ	ḍh
ణ	ṇ
త	t
థ	th
ద	d
ధ	dh
న	n
ప	p
ఫ	ph
బ	b
భ	bh
మ	m
య	y
ర	r
ఱ	ṟ
ల	l
ళ	ḷ
వ	v
శ	ś
ష	ṣ
స	s
హ	h
ఴ	ẓ
ı	Alveolar stop

It appears that the last two cases represent borrowings from literature. In the case of *tēru yekki* the absence of vowel elision can be explained as the consequence of introducing a pause at the word boundry.

There is a solitary instance where -v- is inserted as a glide.

tiruvābharṇālu (← tiru + ābharaṇālu) 'jewels of the idol'
TTDES 3:60.1.5, 1513; TTDES 3:60.5, 1513

The whole phrase might have been borrowed from Tamil since the source for many such expressions is Tamil.

4.13. There are a number of instances in which neither elision of the vowel nor insertion of a glide is attested in the material.

srigiri ayyaṃgāri 'proper noun and masculine honorific suffix (gen.)
SII 10:572.8-9, 1405

rāvi āku 'leaf of peepul tree' TTDES 3:60.5, 1513

kramamu eṭlannanu 'if one asks how the order is' NI 3 Rapur
18.11-12, 1622

These, again, represent a style of speech in which a pause can be inserted at the word boundary.

On the whole it appears that loss of *a*, *i*, and *u* has almost become regular during the period of study, though absence of sandhi is also possible as it is in Modern Telugu.

4.14. Vowel elision is obligatory before vowels which belong to bound morphs, or particles.

The suffix *-eḍu* is a bound morpheme which denotes quantity.

puṭṭeḍu (← puṭṭi + eḍu) SII 5:44.11, 1458

aḍḍeḍu (← aḍḍa + eḍu) SII 5:1248.22, 1471

tūmeḍu (← tūmu + eḍu) TI Misc. 9.7, 1557

Combinations with clitics (particles)

vaccināvā? (← vaccināvu + ā?) ' (you) came + question marker'
SII 6:79.14, 1796

sūranaṃgārē (← sūranaṃgāru + ē) 'n.pr. + emphatic particle'
SII 5:36.26, 1422

ś for *ṣ*

śōḍaśa (for ṣoḍaśa) 'sixteen' SII 16:12.26,1405
dōśāna (for dōṣāna) 'evil' NI 3 Ongole 148.290, 1416

ś for *s*

śaptami (for saptami) 'seventh day of fortnight' SII 6:1072.2, 1413
śukrutaṃ (for sukṛtaṃ) 'a good work' SII 6:1101.5, 1420

ṣ for *ś*

ṣukravārānanu (for śukravārānanu) 'on Friday' SII 6:784.2, 1430

(c) *m* for *v*

hēmalaṃbi (for hēvilaṃbi) 'name of a year' SII 6:656.9, 1417
dēmunki (for dēvuniki) 'to God 'NI 3 Podili 14.23,1517

(d) *n* for *ṇ*

pūrnnima (for pūrṇima) 'full moon' SII 5:52.3,1428
suvarnna (for suvarṇa) 'gold' SII 7:555.8,1546
punyamu (for puṇyamu) 'holiness' SII 5:120.5, 1660

(e) *cc* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *tsy*, *ty* and *śr*

raktācci (for raktākṣi) 'name of a year' SII 5:1182.2, 1445
uccava (for utsava) 'festivity' SII 4:1344.7, 1470
machadēśa (for matsyadēśa) 'a country' SII 10:776.4,1736
nicca (for nitya) 'daily' TTDES 4:17.3, 16th century
acceddha (for aśraddha) 'neglect SII 10:765.40, 1678

The above variations occur even in Modern Telugu in non-standard speech.

(f) *st* for *sn*

stānaṃ (for snānaṃ) 'bath' SII 8:536.34, 1585

This occurs even in educated speech in Modern Telugu as non-formal variety[18].

(g) *j/jy* for *dy*

saju avasaramaṃdu (for sadya avasaramaṃadu) 'in momentary time' SII 6:829.8,1412
vijyānagaramu (for vidyānagaramu) 'place name' NI 2 Ongole 31.8-9, 1558

[18]Writers on Telugu prosody clearly mention that *t* is inserted in the *sn* cluster. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi (*LSS* 2.157-159) and Kuchimanchi Venkatakavi (*SMR* 2.312) have accepted yati between *sn* and *t* and quoted examples from śrīnātha (*Ha. VI.* 2-37) and other later poets.

speakers. Cases of contraction of graphic syllables—a kind of orthographic abbreviation—can be seen even in recent times in the writing practice of older generation, e.g.

petni (= pettina) 'that placed' SII 5:26.4,1412
yicni (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 10:743.21,1530
gkā (= gāka) 'besides' NI 2 Kandukur 48.32,1450
ganku (= ganuka) 'therefore' NI 2 Kandukur 48.52,1650
mālmū (= mālūṃ) 'representation' SII 10:767.11,1680
ayni (= ayina) 'that become' NI 3 Ongole 102.11,1762
yicna (= yiccina) 'that given' SII 5:1221.9,1809

2.2. Systematic spelling conventions ; phonemic representation

The following systematic spelling conventions, though not regular, are attested in the material.

2.21. //rCC// = /rC/

All sequences of /rC/ (where C is not ṣ) are written as rCC in native, as well as in borrowed words; this was a non-phonetic spelling habit. The symbol (ౖ)(called 'valapala-gilaka' in Telugu) for /r/ is written after the geminated consonant. This practice, which was perhaps borrowed from the Sanskritic tradition (Gai 1946:12; Doraswami Sharma 1970:67), is found even in the earlier inscriptions; it is still frequent, though not consistent, during the period under study. Appakavi (2-41) criticises the practice of writing CC ౖ and reading them as sequences of ౖCC (where (ౖ) is /r/ and CC is orthographically geminated consonant).

Examples for rCC representation (orthographically CC ౖ)

Native words

tūrppu 'East' SII 10:576.14,1410; SII 5:874.7,1620
kartta (< karuta) 'bank of the river' SII 10:586.23,1448
tārkkoni 'having drawn near' SII 10:751.11,1592
yerllagaḍḍa 'place name' SII 6:79.3,1796

Sanskrit loans

kārttīka 'name of a month' SII 10:585.23,1445
durggaṃ 'fort' SII 8:495.15,1516
rājamārttāṃḍa 'a title' SII 7:845.2,1632

There is a lone instance of a non-Indo-Aryan loanword where the consonant following /r/ is written geminated. El ౖ where it is only a single consonant.

murttāzā nagaraṃ 'place name' SII 10:759.46-47,1663

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Telugu is one of the major Dravidian languages recognized by the Indian Constitution, with a known history of nearly two thousand years. Telugu is the official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, spoken by 43.4 million people, according to the 1971 Census.

1.1. In this dissertation I have attempted to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, i.e. dating from 1401 A.D. to the date of the last available published inscription, i.e. 1890. The main source of study of the history of the Telugu language is inscriptional records, for the literary language does not always reflect the changes in the contemporary spoken language, as does the language of the inscriptions. A comparison of the literary language with that of the inscriptional records shows that there were two distinct varieties of written communication even by the 11th century (Krishnamurti 1976 b). The spoken variety is mainly found in prose inscriptions and the literary variety in poetic works. While the spoken language has changed gradually, the language of the poetic compositions has remained unchanged for centuries. Some of the forms found in the inscriptions from the 11th century are sometimes closer to Modern Telugu of the educated people than to contemporary literary language (Krishnamurti 1975 a).

1.2. Even the language of the inscriptions cannot be said to provide us a complete account of contemporary language, because the language of the inscriptions, while reflecting contemporary spoken language, also carries traces of the literary language. Further, the inscriptions are used as instruments to convey information and simple messages to the people. As the contents of the messages conveyed through the inscriptions are of a restricted type, the range of linguistic forms contained in them is of a limited nature. Inscriptions generally contain information pertaining to the geneologies of dynasties, gifts and grants of villages and lands to temples and Brahmins, gifts of various tax incomes, exemptions of certain taxes, representations and complaints made by the people and verdicts awarded by the rulers or by their representatives, description of conquests made by the kings, etc. On the whole, the language of the inscriptions represents an admixture of the spoken language with occasional literary forms and it is a typical style used in official documents. Some features of this style can be found in the documents and written communications of even recent times.

the preconsonantal nasal started disappearing as early as the 8th century (Ramachandra Rao: 27-28) and alternate forms with and without anuswāra before stops are found in Pampa Bhārata (10th century) (ibid). The disappearance of preconsonantal nasal confined to two environments in Kannada i.e. after a radical long vowel or after a non-radical short vowel (ibid). We notice similar loss of anuswāra or replacement of full anuswāra by half anuswāra exactly in the same environments in Telugu also.

The phonetic value of anuswāra in the above enviroments during the period of our study is only zero. This can be proved by the fact that many words in which there was originally an anuswāra are written without the symbol.

ēbai (< ēṃbai) 'fifty' SII 5:1174.6, 1422
ēṭānu (< ēṃṭānu) 'every year' SII 5:1162.12, 1427
tūkālu (< tūṃkālu) 'measures' TTDES 3:41.4,1512
mūḍu (< mūṃḍu) 'three' SII 4:280.37,1556
tōpu (< tōṃpu) 'a grove' SII 10:763.6,1670
kāpu (< kāṃpu) 'a farmer' SII 10:775.6,1697
nāḍu (< nāṃḍu) 'that day' SII 5:1221.3,1809
ataḍu (< ataṃḍu) 'he' SII 7:558.15,1856

Even where the anuswāra is written in the above cited environments during this period, it can be taken as an orthographic preservation.

2.3. Aberrant spelling conventions : phonemic interpretation

2.31. //CCh// → //Ch// CC

The practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones is frequently found in the material.

idhari (< iddari) 'two persons (gen.)' SII 6:884.9,1408
okhaṭi (< okkaṭi) 'one' SII 6:1058.3-4,1418
bobhili (< bobbili) 'place name' SII 6:798.3,1425
kukha (< kukka) 'dog' NI 2 Kanigiri 5.29,1528
lekha (< lekka) 'account' SII 8:536.19.1585; SII 10:757.28,1650
makhā (< makkā) 'holy place of Muslims' NI 2 Kandukur 44.33,1650
pucchukoni (< puccukoni) 'having taken' SII 6:930.8,1403
panniddharu (< panniddaru) 'twelve persons' SII 16:257.43,1563

//Ch// /CCh/ in Sanskrit loans

In Sanskrit loans the aspirated geminated consonants also mostly represented by single aspirated ones.

sudha (< suddha) 'the bright lunar fortnight' SII 5:1194.2,1455
sidhavaṭaṃ (< siddhavaṭaṃ) 'place name' SII 16:91.16-17,15-17,1530

(g) *s/ś*

s is phonetically *ś* before palatal vowels.

cēsi/ceśi 'having done' SII 10:737.60, 1526; SII 5:24.9, 1401

cēsina/cēśina 'that done' TTDES 3:68.1, 1514; SII 10:729.20, 15th century

tīsi/tīśi 'having taken' NI 2 kandukur 48.30, 1650; SII 10:772.13, 1696

(h) *NB/N(N)*

The replacement of nasal+voiced plosive clusters (mainly involving labials & retroflexes) by corresponding nasals or nasal geminates is frequently found in the material. All these cases are the result of progressive assimila tion in colloquial language.

(daṃḍanāyakulaku)/daṃṇayakulaku[11] 'to the head police officer' SII 16:21.23, 1406

(daṃḍaṃ)/ daṇaṃ 'prostration' NI 1 CP 2.26, 1435; SII 16:184.4, 1552

(reṃḍuṃkālu)/reṃṇaṃkālu 'two and quarter' SII 4:773.7, 15th century

(saṃbaṃdhaṃ)/saṃmaṃdhaṃ 'relation' SII 16:260.39, 1563; SII 7:569.29, 1580

(kriṣṇamaṃgāru)/ kriṣṇamaṃṅaru 'n.pr.+hon.' SII 5:120.4, 1640

(i) *mr/mbr*

Phonetic *b* is occassionally inserted between *m* and *r* in loan-words as it is heard in modern pronunciation.

sāmrājyaṃ/sāṃbrājyaṃ 'empire' SII 4:279.5, 1561; SII 7:555.3, 1546

tāmra/tāṃbraṃ 'copper' SII 16:77.159, 1525; N I2 Kandukur 48.47, 1650

(sāmrāni/) sāṃbrāni 'benjamin' SII 8:536.30, 1585

(j) *ṃv /ṃhv; ṃh/ṃhv; ṃs/ṃsv*

Words containing anuswāra followed by a fricative, *v*, *h* and *s*, in loan-words are spelt differently in the material.

(*i*) */ṃv /→//ṃv, ṃvv, mv, ṃh, ṃhv//*

saṃvatsara 'year'	SII 5:1215.14,1597
saṃvvatsara	SII 4:696.2, 1423;
samvatsara	SII 4:694.2, 1423;
saṃhatsara	NI 1 Kandukur 20.4, 1640;
saṃhvatsara	SII 4:949.2, 1771; SII 5:1221.2, 1809;
	SII 5:1192.3, 1866

(*ii*) */ṃh/→//ṃhv, hv, ṃhy, hy, ṃhm, hm, ṃhmv//*

[11] See 2.23 for *//ṃN//* = */NN/*.

Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

Languages

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Arab.	Arabic
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ka.	Kannada
PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
Per.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Mte.	Modern Telugu

General

acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Ad.	Adverb
Att.	Attributive
Aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	compare
DO	Direct Object
dat.	dative
f./fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
h./hum.	human
IO	Indirect Object
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
instr.	instrumental
l.w	loan word
loc.	locative
m./masc.	masculine
N	Noun
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative

Transliteration

అ	a	గ	g	ప	p
ఆ	ā	ఘ	gh	ఫ	ph
ఇ	i	ఙ	ṅ	బ	b
ఈ	ī	చ	c	భ	bh
ఉ	u	ఛ	ch	మ	m
ఊ	ū	జ	j	య	y
ఋ	ṛ	ఝ	jh	ర	r
ఎ	e	ఞ	ñ	ఱ	ṟ
ఏ	ē	ట	ṭ	ల	l
ఐ	ai	ఠ	ṭh	ళ	ḷ
ఒ	o	డ	ḍ	వ	v
ఓ	ō	ఢ	ḍh	శ	ś
ఔ	au	ణ	ṇ	ష	ṣ
ం	ṃ	త	t	స	s
ఁ	V^n	థ	th	హ	h
ః	ḥ	ద	d	ఴ	ẓ
క	k	ధ	dh	ı	Alveolar stop
ఖ	kh	న	n		

139	14	(det.)	(dat.)
142	12	*-muṃḍaṭa*	*-muṃdaṭa*
	16	compartively	comparatively
	14(b)	commom	common
143	14(b)	centries	centuries
144	1	gaṭṭṃcenu	gaṭṭiṃcenu
	6	indentified	identified
147	1-2	completing with dancing girls attending at the temples	completing with manika measures
150	2	mhāpātṛla	mahāpātṛla
151	8(b)	*-nuṃic*	*-nuṃci*
155	4	*-aṃadulanu*	*-aṃdulanu*
		daes	does
		tiṃe	time
159	17	fröm	form
163	23	(Krishnamurti)	(Krishnamurti 1968)
165	1	au	an
166	9	hundered	hundred
167	1	nasaal	nasal
168	11	from	form
171	1(b)	firsts	first
	3(b)	thi	the
172	2	cenrury	century
174	4	*nāluguvṃadalu*	*nāluguvaṃdalu*
	16	61th	16th
175	5	scriptional	inscriptional
176	5	(fifty)	(sixty)
177	3	indentifiable	identifiable
	6	slmple	simple
179	11	tāpu	tōpu
181	1	cart	carts
182	13(b)	ysar	year
206	2	fiirst	first
	1(b)	*cēs-e-un*	*cēs-e-nu*
207	7	coming	becoming
	9	*uṃḍagalaḍu*	*uṃḍagaladu*
	12(b)	*.iṭi-*	*-iṭi-*
213	11(b)	3rd person	1st person
219	12(b)	writtin	written
226	8	ihe	the
228	7	attemp	attempt
	8(b)	Teluge	Telugu
239	6	atinarakmuna	atinarakamuna
243	12(b)	whoeve-	whoever
250	14	constitutent	constituent
	17	sevral	several
	20	indireet	indirect
252	1	folllowing	following
253	11(b)	samrpiṃccenu	samarpiṃccenu
258	2	centuray	century
	3	bassis	basis

139	14	(det.)	(dat.)
142	12	*-mumḍaṭa*	*-mumdaṭa*
	16	compartively	comparatively
	14(b)	commom	common
143	14(b)	centries	centuries
144	1	gaṭṭmcenu	gaṭṭimcenu
	6	indentified	identified
147	1-2	completing with dancing girls attending at the temples	completing with manika measures
150	2	mhāpātṛla	mahāpātṛla
151	8(b)	*-numic*	*-numci*
155	4	*-amadulanu*	*-amdulanu*
		daes	does
		time	time
159	17	from	form
163	23	(Krishnamurti)	(Krishnamurti 1968)
165	1	au	an
166	9	hundered	hundred
167	1	nasaal	nasal
168	11	from	form
171	1(b)	firsts	first
	3(b)	thi	the
172	2	cenrury	century
174	4	*nāluguvmadalu*	*nāluguvamdalu*
	16	61th	16th
175	5	scriptional	inscriptional
176	5	(fifty)	(sixty)
177	3	indentifiable	identifiable
	6	slmple	simple
179	11	tāpu	tōpu
181	1	cart	carts
182	13(b)	ysar	year
206	2	fiirst	first
	1(b)	*cēs-e-un*	*cēs-e-nu*
207	7	coming	becoming
	9	*umḍagalaḍu*	*umḍagaladu*
	12(b)	*.iti-*	*-iti-*
213	11(b)	3rd person	1st person
219	12(b)	writtin	written
226	8	ihe	the
228	7	attemp	attempt
	8(b)	Teluge	Telugu
239	6	atinarakmuna	atinarakamuna
243	12(b)	whoeve-	whoever
250	14	constitutent	constituent
	17	sevral	several
	20	indireet	indirect
252	1	folllowing	following
253	11(b)	samrpimccenu	samarpimccenu
258	2	centuray	century
	3	bassis	basis

A HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF INSCRIPTIONAL TELUGU

(1401 A.D. to 1900 A.D.)

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